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16 April 1984

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UAE-TAIWAN TRADE STATISTICS REPORTED

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 7 Mar 84 p 13

[Text]

THE balance of payments position in UAE-Taiwan trade has dramatically changed in favour of the UAE.

Mr Philip Chang, resident director of Far East Trade Service, Taiwan's semi-official trade promotion agency, told reporters in Dubai yesterday that Taiwan imported goods worth \$304.57 million from the UAE last year. It exported goods worth \$146.24 million.

This represents a major change in the pattern of UAE's trade with Taiwan, one of its important trading partners. Trade hitherto has been characterised by a huge deficit for the UAE. In 1982, for instance, Taiwan exported goods worth \$141.41 million to this country but its imports from the UAE were worth only \$24.66 million. The position has been even worse in preceding years.

Meanwhile, Taiwan is sponsoring two trade missions to Dubai in the next few weeks, Mr Chang said.

The first group which will represent 17 companies will be in Dubai from March 14 to 18 and will hold a products display at the Hyatt Regency on March 15.

Items on display will include garments, textiles, toys, giftware, lighting

fixtures, stationery, footwear, electronic and electrical items and building materials.

The mission will later go to Amman, Damascus, Cairo and Kuwait.

The second mission, a foodpackers' trade group, will arrive on April 13 on a three-day visit. It will also hold a products display at the Hyatt on April 14.

Its 15 members will represent manufacturers and exporters of a broad range of foodstuff, including canned and frozen vegetables, fruits, juices, seafood, snacks and condiments.

Mr Chang said the mission has been put together taking into account the fact that Taiwan has been a major supplier of foodstuff to the Gulf states for several years.

He also announced a series of exhibitions to be held at the Sungshan domestic airport exhibition complex in Taipei that may be of interest to local businessmen. These include a sporting goods show from March 20 to 24, a machinery show from April 6 to 15, an automotive accessories and cycle show from May 1 to 5 and a building materials and hardware show from May 15 to 19.

Mr Zafar Chang, Taiwan's consul in Dubai, also attended the Press briefing.

CSO: 4400/207

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AID FOR DAM PROJECTS IN MAGHREB COUNTRIES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German
22 Feb 84 p 2

/Text/ Frankfurt, 21 February--Important earth dam projects have been planned, started, or completed in recent times in the Maghreb countries of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. These projects are intended especially for the artificial irrigation of larger crop cultivation areas, drinking water supply, the generation of electric energy, and river control. The projects, which are of great importance to the economic development of these three countries, are frequently being financed with the help of international organizations (World Bank Group, European Investment Bank), rich Arab oil countries, and individual industrial nations. In the context of these projects, engineering consultant, construction, and equipment firms in the industrial nations, including the FRG, were able to get orders.

The EIB in Luxembourg granted Morocco a loan of 18 million accounting units (1 accounting unit is about DM2.28) for the construction of a dam with connected power plant near Ait Chouarhit on Oued Lakhdar on the north side of the High Atlas. The dam (144 meters high, 380 meters long) will have a storage volume of 270 million cubic meters of water. It is to be used in artificially irrigating a crop cultivation area of 36,000 hectares in the plain of Habuz. The hydroelectric power plant is to have an installed capacity of 67 Megawatts. The project's completion is scheduled for 1988 and requires an investment expenditure of around 400 million accounting units. The EIB--whose loan is intended for the construction of the dam itself--will presumably make available an additional amount of more than 36 million accounting units, to be used for the erection of the power plant. Rich Arab oil countries also participated in the project's financing. An order worth about Fr 1 billion for the construction of the dam was awarded to the French firm of Societe Dumez, Paris.

Three new dams are to provide drinking water for the cities of Tangier, Tetouan, and Essaouira. The dam which has become necessary for Tangier is to be built on Oued Hachef with a storage capacity of 185 million cubic meters of water. The 35-meter high dam--which requires investments of about \$70 million--is to be built between the end of 1984 and the beginning of 1987. The dam, planned for the water supply of Tetouan and surroundings, is being built near Dar Ben Karrich on Oued Martil, about 12 kilometers southeast of Tetouan. The 92-meter high dam, which will cost about \$200 million, is to have a storage capacity of 100 million cubic meters of water. The dam will

presumably be built from the end of 1984 until 1990. To supply water to Essaouira and the phosphate complex of Meskala, plans call for the construction of a 68-meter high dam on Oued Ksob near Zerrar, about 3 kilometers southeast of Essaouira. It is expected that the corresponding project studies will be completed early in 1984. The investment expenditure has been estimated at around \$80 million.

Two additional Moroccan projects, for which international bidding competitions have been held in recent times, involve the construction of the dam at Dkheila on Oued Issene, about 60 kilometers northeast of Agadir and the dam of Dchar el Oued Oum Arrabia. At the end of 1981, the FRG made an amount of DM47 million available for an irrigation project and a drinking water supply project in conjunction with the dam on the Nekor River in the Province of Al Hoceima which had been built by Morocco itself. In April 1983, the FRG granted a loan of DM44 million for an agricultural development project on both sides of the Lonkkos River below the Oued El Makhazen dam which was completed in 1980 and to which a power plant, with an installed capacity of 36 Megawatts, was connected.

Algeria's 1984 government budget earmarked investments in the amount of 3,330 million Dinar (1 Algerian Dinar is about DM0.55) for the water supply industry; this also includes the construction of dams. A German-Dutch consortium, with Dyckerhoff & Widmann AG [Incorporated] (Dywidag), of Munich, acting as project manager--also including Philipp Holzmann AG, Frankfurt, and Royal Volker Stevin N.V.--was given the job of building the Al Ibtissam dam southwest of Algiers. The dam's crest was reached in 1982. The project was to be completed in 1983. The dam has a crest length of 300 meters and a height of 60 meters. The storage capacity is 115 million cubic meters; in 1982, the consortium was given an additional contract for building a 230-meter long drainage tunnel.

The SFD (Saudi Fund for Development) also recently declared itself ready to grant Algeria loans totalling 380 million Saudi-Rial (1 Saudi-Rial is about DM0.78) for the construction of dams and a railroad project in order thus to cover the project's foreign-exchange costs. Specifically, this involves the erection of the dam at Gargar on Oued Rhiau, in the government district of Mostagnem, with a storage capacity of 120 million cubic meters, for which international bidding invitations were issued already in the spring of 1983, and the dam at Ain Dalia, in the area of Guelma (95 million cubic meters storage capacity), as well as the construction of a rail line between M'Sila and Bordj Bou Arreridj.

The Swedish firm of BPA Byggproduktion AB, which is owned by the Swedish labor unions, recently agreed to continue the construction of a dam in El Khemis and the construction of an artificial irrigation system in the Chelif valley in the country's western part. Construction work had been suspended in October 1983 above all because of delayed domestic material deliveries and the resultant cost rise. The project--which originally was supposed to have been completed in the middle of 1983--will now presumably be continued until July 1984. The contract value reportedly is 750 million Swedish Crowns. The dam, with a crest length of 2 kilometers, is to supply water for an artificially irrigated area intended primarily for growing vegetables.

The projects, for which international bidding invitations were issued in recent times in Algeria, include the construction of the Fontaine des Gazelles dam, in Oued El Hai, near Biskra, the Fekra dam on Oued Sbisseb in the government district of Bouira, the Dahmouni dam on Oued Ouessa in the government district of Tiaret, and the Mexna dam on Oued Kebir, east of the city of Annaba in the country's eastern part. Lahmeyer International GmbH, Frankfurt, was awarded a consultant contract on the rehabilitation of 17 dams, 15 of which had already been erected during French colonial times. The entire investment expenditure for the restoration of the dams has been estimated at around \$300 million.

In Tunisia, the construction of three larger and three smaller dams is planned as part of the six national five-year plan (1982-1986). The construction of an additional three dams is contemplated for the following, seven national five-year plan (1987-1991). The three major projects under the sixth national five-year plan include the Siliana dam on Oued Siliana, a tributary of the Medjerda, the Sejnane dam in the country's northern part, and the El Haouareb dam on Oued Merguellil in the Province of Kairouan. The three smaller dams in Oued Lebna, Oued El Abid and Sidi Jedidi, with a storage volume totalling 8.5 million cubic meters of water, are to be built in the area of the Cape Bon Peninsula.

The KFAED (Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development) in Kuwait, in the spring of 1983, granted a loan in the amount of 7.5 million Kuwait-Dinar (1 Kuwait-Dinar is about DM9.31) for the construction of the Siliana dam. The 1,200-meter long and 53-meter high dam, with a storage capacity of 70 million cubic meters, will cost around 29 million Tunisian Dinar (1 Tunisian Dinar is about DM3.78). An expenditure of 14 million Tunisian Dinar has been estimated for the connected irrigation system (4,000 hectares). The firms of Coyne et Bellier, Paris, and Societe d'Etudes Generales et Hydrauliques, Tunis, took over consultation functions for this project.

The Soviet Union prepared a project study for the Sejenan dam. This dam is to yield 75 million cubic meters of water each year. The Sejenan dam is to be connected with the Joumine dam, which is now under construction, via a pipeline. It will be used to meet the drinking water requirements in the areas of Bizerte, Mateur, Tunis, and Cape Bon, as well as the coastal zone up to Sfax. Besides, it can be used for the artificial irrigation of 800 hectares of crop cultivation area in the lower Medjerda valley. Tunisia is trying to get a loan from KFAED and international organizations for the third major dam project at El Haouareb.

It was announced recently that HECC (Hydraulic Engineering Corporation of China) is negotiating with the Tunisian government on the construction of the smaller El Lebna dam which is to be built 70 kilometers south of Tunis. The AFESD (Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development), which is registered in Kuwait, will probably also participate in the project's financing.

The Sidi Salem dam (340 meters long, 122 meters high) on the Medjerda near Testour, which was connected with a hydroelectric power plant with an installed capacity of 32 megawatts, was officially opened in May 1982.

EGYPT

PARTY ALLIANCES, PRE-ELECTION MANEUVERINGS EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 211, 25 Feb-2 Mar 84 pp 30-36

[Article by 'Imad-al-Din Adib: "In the First Free Elections in 32 Years, the Alliance between Muslim Brothers and the Pasha Signals the Demise of al-Sadat's Followers"]

[Text] AL-MAJALLAH has information that one fourth of the seats in the next parliament will go to the opposition.

What is the strongest undeclared party in Egypt?

'Umar al-Talmasani tells AL-MAJALLAH, "We do not want power, but we are preparing programs for food, housing and services."

Who is with whom and who is against whom in Egypt today? This is a serious question that derives its importance from the fact that Egypt is about to hold its first free elections since 1952. This question is even more important because these are the first elections in which popular forces, like the Wafd, the Muslim Brothers and Nasirists, are being allowed to present themselves on the political scene. What is the story behind the agreements and disputes that are taking place in all parties in Egypt? What are the motives behind the grave alliance between the "secular" Wafd Party and the "religious" Society of Muslim Brothers? Why are pictures of 'Abd-al-Nasir becoming widespread all over the streets of Cairo? How was President Husni Mubarak quietly and intelligently able to get the forces of government and those of the opposition to serve his own purposes? What is the most powerful undeclared party in Egypt?

This report, which comes from the center of decision-making positions in government and in the opposition and from the mainstream of Egyptian life as well, tries to approach answers to these questions.

Case number 35 was being heard in the courtroom of the Council of State in the governorate of al-Jizah.

This case was not a conventional one. It was filed against the government by Muhammad Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, who is known as Fu'ad Pasha Siraj-al-Din. The case was filed after the socialist general prosecutor denied Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, Ibrahim Faraj and 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan their rights to exercise their political

rights because, according to the socialist prosecutor at the time, "They had corrupted political life."

The courtroom was full of people, and representatives of the local and foreign press were waiting. As the court bailiff exclaimed in a loud voice, "Case number 35," five attorneys wearing their black counselors' robes rose to defend the Pasha.

On the other side of the courtroom stood the government's attorney. He stood alone: he had no supporters and no allies. It was as though he had realized with his legal intuition that the ruling will certainly be in favor of the Pasha.

The government's lawyer spoke and asked that the case filed by Fu'ad Pasha be thrown out of court and declared groundless. He asked that the Revolutionary Court's files on the Pasha be appended to the case file.

Then Dr Muhammad 'Asfur, one of the Pasha's attorneys stood and said, "Gentlemen, the question that we are being asked to consider today is this: is there or isn't there a constitution?"

"Most certainly there is a firmly established and an authentic constitution in the country. Therefore, I am defending my client's right, which is protected by the constitution, to exercise his political rights."

Attorney, Dr Nu'man Jum'ah spoke in defense of Mr Ibrahim Faraj, one of the most prominent leaders of the Wafd. Mr Faraj is in the same situation Fu'ad Pasha is in: both of them were denied their right to engage in political activity. Dr Nu'man Jum'ah said, "Gentlemen, the charge that has been leveled against my client is a false one; it is because of that charge that he has been accused of political corruption. In addition, the alleged incident occurred in 1953, that is, after the revolution. The provisions of the law that would prevent my client from exercising his political rights refer to those who 'corrupted before 1952'."

Because the pasha is an attorney and a former jurist, he did not miss the opportunity to wear the black robe and to ask the court to allow him to speak in his own defense. At that moment everyone in the courtroom became silent, and the usual noise that can be heard outside Egyptian courtrooms could no longer be heard. Speaking fluently in flawless Arabic, Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din wondered, "[With all due respect], I would like to ask the court if this law considers everyone who held a cabinet position before 1952 to have been one of those who corrupted political life? If Sa'd Zaghlul, Mustafa Kamil and Mustafa al-Nahas were alive today, were they going to be denied the right to exercise their political rights because they 'corrupted' political life?"

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din added, "I ask the court to complement its historic decisions, those which it began by allowing the activities of the New Wafd Party to go on, and to lift this ban that has been imposed on me."

At the end of the court session a ruling on the case was postponed. However, confirmed information which has been leaked indicates that a committee of state commissioners which did look into the case of Muhammad Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din has affirmed in its report his right to exercise his political rights.

Court was re-convened on Sunday, 12 February 1984 to issue its ruling on the case. As expected, the ruling removed the political isolation that had been imposed on Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, leader of the New Wafd Party, and on Ibrahim Faraj, secretary of the party. In the legal reasons for its ruling the court stated that papers filed in the case proved that charges for the actions which were attributed to the plaintiffs and which constituted the reason for the two decisions that were issued by the socialist general prosecutor were brought more than 25 years after the fact. The court ruling vindicated the plaintiffs, and it had the force of law as of 6 February 1972.

The foregoing scene provides the best example of the struggle that is going on in Egypt today. The struggle is political, but it is being fought in the courts and it is being settled not by the president, but by a judge.

Under this equation in which disputes are being settled by a judge and not by the president, Nasirists submitted an application to the Committee on Parties to form their own political party. When their application was turned down, they took their case to court, asking the court to declare their party legal.

Under this equation the Muslim Brothers organization went to the Egyptian courts asking that restrictions which had been imposed on their property, their possessions and their buildings be lifted. This property had been confiscated by the Revolutionary Court in decisions it handed down in January 1954.

Where does the president stand on this? What is the government's position? What is the position of factions of the opposition on this new equation? How will each one of these opposition factions enter the upcoming elections campaign under this equation?

Mubarak Wants...

We must make it clear that in Egypt today when one speaks of the president, one does not necessarily mean the government and vice versa.

We must ponder this statement at length. President Mubarak knows that he cannot singlehandedly resist the burdensome legacy that was left behind by his late predecessor. He knows, as someone close to him said, that Egypt does not need a single charismatic, popular leader.

President Mubarak believes that "Egypt needs an integrated political system that would operate through a balance of state institutions."

The source said, "Mubarak is trying to effect a balance between his role as president and his role as an official responsible for the new equation in government that he wants to apply."

At the same time Mubarak is applying himself to the task of governing. He gives his prime minister, Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, who is a prominent physician and a veteran politician, and who is also the secretary general of the National Party, the full responsibility to take action in government and in the party.

The source said, "This is the first time in Egypt for a prime minister to be in

fact the head of government and not a secretary to a president who interferes in every detail involving the powers of the head of government." The source added, "Mubarak serves as a president only. He does not serve as a president, a prime minister and chairman of a political organization or institution as his late predecessor did."

Accordingly, we must make it clear that Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din has his own policy. The prime minister believes in that policy, and he applies it within the boundaries of the freedom of action granted to him by the president. But what does Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-din believe in?

Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din is considered to be one of Egypt's hardest working politicians. He is known to be a man of sound financial integrity and superior political integrity as well.

At the same time Dr Muhyi-al-Din subscribes to the school of "political discipline" in Egypt. That school of thought believes that ministers have a right to disagree and to differ within government but not outside government. That school of thought believes that a minister is responsible for his ministry and that he is not accountable politically to the public. Therefore, there are frequent reports about sharp differences between Dr Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din and three ministers who head services ministries and two ministers who head primary ministries. Perhaps the most important difference that occurred was that between Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din and Mr Hasan Abu Basha, Egypt's minister of the interior, who is considered one of the most prominent political figures in the Egyptian government. The dispute between the two men revolved around the manner in which the Shura Council elections were to be conducted and the method in which the results would be announced.

For the first time since the 1952 Revolution most Egyptian opposition leaders agree that the Egyptian minister of the interior is adopting a principle of honesty in the elections and in his dealings with the Egyptian opposition. They agree that he is the first minister of the interior to maintain direct contacts with opposition leaders in a manner that would help contain any problems between the government and the opposition which may get worse. Perhaps one of the most important recent crises that Abu Basha was able to contain and come to an understanding about with the opposition was that which involved events at al-Mansurah University. Disputes had occurred there between students and university security because of the manner in which security had been handled on some university questions.

One of the leaders of the United National Grouping Party (a leftist party) said that Abu Basha called Mr Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the leader of the party, about this matter and that Abu Basha asked Muhyi-al-Din if there was any truth to allegations that there were leftist party leaders who were active in the events at al-Mansurah. Khalid Muhyi-al-Din asked Abu Basha to read to him on the phone the names of the party members who were being accused in the events. After a few moments Khalid Muhyi-al-Din returned a call to Abu Basha and explained to him that the information was incorrect, and he gave him confirmed proof of that. Abu Basha then settled the situation, and a major crisis between the government and the left was averted.

The Muslim Brothers and the Wafd

'Umar al-Talmasani lives in a modest home in a popular neighborhood on al-Qabisi Street, a short street that branches off one of the neighborhoods around Ramses Street in the center of the Egyptian capital. He is the grand master of the Muslim Brothers Society in Egypt.

'Umar al-Talmasani, who comes from one of the wealthiest families in the country, could have gone on to enjoy his fortune. He could have worked as a contractor or he could have been the owner of a shipping company. He could have been a minister in 'Abd-al-Nasir's, al-Sadat's or even Mubarak's government if he had come to terms with the regime.

Al-Talmasani was, for example, the first person to drive a Renault automobile in Egypt in 1926. Today, the only thing he claims is the affection of his followers and companions and the Muslim Brothers. He greeted me in his modest home with a gracious smile. There he was: an 80-year old man who still retained his smile, his tranquillity and his composure after having been prosecuted at length throughout his years of struggle and of advocating Islam. I asked Mr 'Umar about information that had become available to me about the truth of the coalition between the New Wafd Party and the Muslim Brothers Society in the upcoming elections.

Mr 'Umar replied, "Yes, this is true. We will run in the elections, God willing, with the New Wafd Party. We agreed to this with Fu'ad Pasha. It will be al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, member of the People's Assembly and prominent member of the Muslim Brothers, who will serve as liaison between us and the New Wafd."

I asked Mr 'Umar, "But why the New Wafd, when the Wafd Party has been known throughout its history as a secular party?"

Mr 'Umar said, "We and the Wafd are the two principal forces that were hurt by the 1952 Revolution. We and the Wafd consider ourselves to be the forces with the most popular support on the Egyptian scene."

I asked Mr 'Umar, "Does this mean that you are adopting the same program that the New Wafd Party has?"

With considerable forbearance Mr 'Umar replied, "The fact that we are coordinating activities with the Wafd means that we are getting together with the Wafd and running in the elections on a joint list. But this does not mean that we are adopting the Wafd's program."

I responded immediately to that and said, "What then is your program?"

He said, "Our program is the Holy Koran and the instructions of Mr Hasan al-Banna which are published in his books. These instructions are clear and specific."

I said, "But the problems that are presenting themselves in Egypt today need detailed programs of action."

He said, "Precisely. We think that the application of Islamic law, seeking guidance from the Holy Koran and referring to the instructions of the late Mr Hasan

al-Banna constitute principal points. This does not mean, however, that we have no technical programs."

I said, "Are you then drawing up food, housing and development programs?"

He replied, "Yes, of course, and our fellow professionals who are Muslim Brothers are continuing in this direction."

I said, "What is your view of the Nasirists, of the left and of the other forces that are presenting themselves on the scene?"

He said, "We are prepared to form a coalition or an alliance, and we are prepared to cooperate with any power in Egypt if that power will put Islamic law into practice. The greatness of the Muslim Brothers lies in the fact that they overlook the historical transgressions that were committed against them. We do not seek power. All that we want is that government be in accordance with what God has ordained."

I asked him, "If you were to assume power one day, would you allow other forces to exercise their right to speak their own minds?"

Mr 'Umar laughed a kind, childish laugh and said, "Of course. Our proper understanding of Islam makes us understand the meaning of freedom of speech and the right that others have to oppose us."

When I finished sipping the tea that Mr 'Umar himself had offered me with great humility for an old man of his age and standing, I asked him, "How do you see your relationship with Archbishop Shenouda, the spiritual leader of the Copts?"

Mr 'Umar said, "We have good relations with the archbishop, and we communicate with him. We visited him several times. There is nothing but good will between us."

I had one final question for him, "Do you expect that you and the Wafd will win 40 percent of the seats in parliament as some people say?"

He laughed and said with great confidence, "God willing. God will bless us with this outcome if He so chooses."

The Pasha Is Particular!

My appointment with the Pasha, or rather, with Mr Muhammad Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din was set at 8 p.m. When I arrived early at the offices of the party located in one of the mansions of al-Badrawi family, one of the largest landed families before the revolution, I had to wait outside for 4 minutes. When it was exactly 8 p.m., I was allowed to go to the pasha in his office.

He was elegant as usual. A white handkerchief adorned his upper coat pocket, and he wore a wide, elegant carefully tied tie. He was smoking a fat, long and pungent cigar. There was a new poster on the wall by artist Mustafa Husayn of Sa'd Zaghlul Pasha, Mustafa al-Nahhas and Fu'ad Pasha, when he was younger. Fu'ad Pasha was laughing in that poster.

It's been exactly 30 years since Fu'ad Pasha sat at a desk receiving journalists and becoming involved in politics. Today, being over 70 years old, he resumes that role.

He started by asking me a question, "What are they saying about us in newspapers abroad?"

I said, "Quite frankly, Pasha, the fact that the Wafd Party is being allowed to resume its activities is being linked with the Americans."

The pasha became interested, and his eyes gleamed as he said, "We were told the same things in the past during the days of the British. Then we were told the same thing in the days of President Anwar al-Sadat when permission to engage in political activity was granted to the party on the day of President al-Sadat's departure to Washington where he was to meet with President Carter. The fact is that these statements are not true. We are an ancient popular party that does not depend on any power in the country or abroad. Our history of struggle has been well-known since the days of Sa'd Zaghlul and al-Nahhas. Our return to political life came about through legal channels and laws that are in effect."

I told the pasha, "Let me ask you a question about the party's platform because I do not believe that it answers many of the questions that are being raised about the basic needs of the average man in the street."

The pasha said, "This is not true. We have an integrated platform which sets forth complete answers to these questions."

I told the pasha, "But the people want to know quite simply where do you stand on the question of bread, housing, prices and the availability of services."

With some irritation the pasha said, "My dear man, you cannot go to the people and tell them tomorrow or the day after tomorrow these are the figures for our housing plan. We cannot give the people specific figures about wages and prices. And the simple reason for that is that we do not have the figures and the complete information about the country's economy. For example, I do not know specifically how large Egypt's debt is. How can the party devise its plan when it does not have the figures? However, we hope that when we get into parliament, we will, as we used to in the past, ask government to provide us with these figures and with full information. We have a right to know everything: even those facts that have to do with the questions of armaments and the defense budget."

I asked the pasha about one of the most important questions: the relationship between his party and the Muslim Brothers.

He said as though he had been expecting that question, "We are a party that believes in religion, but we are not a religious party. Therefore, we are working with the Muslim Brothers as companions in a political struggle."

It was here that some prominent party members who had been listening to us talking joined the discussion by firing questions at the pasha. "But Mr Ibrahim Faraj said so and so on this subject!" Others said, "But al-Shaykh Salah Isma'il disagreed with Mr Ibrahim Faraj (a Copt) on this point." And yet a third said, "But Dr Wahid Ra'fat stated otherwise in his column in AL-AKHBAR."

At that point Mr Muhammad Fahim, secretary of the Bar Association and one of the prominent leaders in the Wafd Party approached the pasha and told him, "Pasha, these matters must be rectified."

I took that opportunity and asked the pasha, "Don't you believe that with regard to political statements there has to be some organizational discipline?"

The pasha inhaled deeply on his cigar and said very politely, "What are we to do, my good man? We cannot do everything at the same time. We are fighting a legal battle for the party. We are reorganizing the membership, and we are making preparations for publishing the party's newspaper in March. We are preparing lists for the elections. In addition, I am not the only one responsible for this party. There is the party's Supreme Committee as well as the general assembly which founded the party. It is the principal authority with regard to all these matters."

When I left the pasha, he had a large stack of papers and party application forms in front of him. There was an endless stream of visitors whose names he recorded in a small black notebook where he records his appointments which begin at 8 a.m. and sometimes go on continuously before ending at dawn.

One of the most memorable anecdotes told by a biased member of the Wafd Party is that the pasha was conducting negotiations to form a party of all of Egypt.

The Experience of the Left

"We have a stake in average Egyptians, but the greatest crisis we have is how to find a common, simple "language" for political understanding between us and those average Egyptians. We want to change from a party that has the best group of Egyptian intellectuals to a party of average Egyptians."

That was what one of the most prominent members of the Grouping Party (the left) told me when I asked him about the crisis of parties in addressing average Egyptians.

This is what he said about a coalition with any of the political forces: "No decision has been made on that yet. But we are quite open to any plans. However, let us consider the recent election. Despite all the pressures that were applied and all the drawbacks that were seen, the total votes we got came to 350,000. Today we believe that the situation is different and that there is a climate that guarantees us at least a minimum of a healthy exercise [of our franchise] and participation in the elections."

I asked him, "What about the eight percent condition that is required for participation?"

He said, "This is the major point we object to. We think it is unfair. Let me explain to you how dangerous that condition is. Let's assume that 100,000 voters in a precinct voted in an election. Let's assume that each one of four opposition parties won 19,500 votes while the National (ruling) party got 22,000 votes. Do you know what the representation ratio will be like?"

I said, "No, I don't. This is a complicated method."

He said, "First, on the basis of this vote each opposition party would be represented by one person in parliament. Then the fractions of votes won by the four opposition candidates would be given to the party that wins the largest percentage of the vote. Then the votes of the women's committees (two votes) would go to the party with the most votes. This means that the National Party would get two votes, first because it is the party with the most votes. Then two votes would be added from the total of the fractions. And then two votes from the Women's Committee would be added to that. This means that the National Party would get six seats even though it won 22,000 votes, whereas opposition parties would get four votes (one vote for each one of them) even though they got 78,000 of the total votes cast in the precinct!"

'Abd-al-Nasir's Picture

On 'Abd-al-Nasir's birthday Cairo, Alexandria, Mansurah and Asyut were plastered with hundreds of thousands of pictures of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. That was on the first anniversary of the death of Egypt's former president 14 years ago.

It has become customary to find on the streets of Cairo a picture of President 'Abd-al-Nasir with his son, Khalid, when Khalid was a little boy--no one knows why this picture was chosen among others. One can find this picture in store windows or in the rear windows of private automobiles or taxicabs. This picture which is colored in a primitive fashion is sold in Egypt's popular neighborhoods for 25 piasters, or the equivalent of an American quarter. It has also become customary to find in the governorate of al-Jizah, in front of the al-Jizah Sheraton, a triangular picture placed there by the governorate showing Anwar al-Sadat, Husni Mubarak and Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. Under 'Abd-al-Nasir's picture is the caption, "Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, the founder of the 23 July Revolution."

It has become customary to hear President Mubarak making references to Nasirist expressions in his speeches or referring to 'Abd-al-Nasir's accomplishments and directly mentioning his name.

For the first time this year attention was given to the fact that young members of the ruling National Party would visit the tomb of 'Abd-al-Nasir in Manshiyah al-Bakri in the Egyptian capital. It was announced that young party members would celebrate the anniversary of 'Abd-al-Nasir's birthday.

Why has 'Abd-al-Nasir's picture suddenly appeared on the scene in Egypt and among average Egyptians?

This may be attributed to two principal points.

--First, President Husni Mubarak's administration has allowed numerous Nasirist figures to engage in political activity. The 15 May 1971 group which almost overthrew the government of President Anwar al-Sadat were no longer considered criminal.

--Second, Nasirist groups are reorganizing. There is Farid 'Abd-al-Karim's faction, which includes the men who were involved in the 15 May incidents; there is a group of young people headed by Hamdin Sabahi, the journalist and former president of the Cairo University Student Union; and there is the faction of Kamal

Ahmad, a former representative who heads a group of young people and who submitted an application for the formation of the first Nasirist Party. That application was turned down.

When I asked Hamdin Sabahi what his plans were, he said, "We will not give up. We will apply a second time and a third time. This time we will observe all the legal points for the purpose of forming the party."

He added, "The creation of a Nasirist Party in Egypt is inevitable and inescapable."

I told him, "But what will you have to offer the man in the street?"

He said, "We have the programs of the past Nasirist experience, but we also have new proposals that are compatible with the nature of the historical situation that is being presented by events today."

I said, "But the Nasirist experience has also been linked with mistakes in practice!"

Hamdin Sabahi spoke very confidently, "We too have objections to the Nasirist experience, and we've criticized it objectively. We want to apply a formula of principles which 'Abd-al-Nasir wanted to apply inside the country and abroad. However, not all of these principles were realized for many reasons and conditions."

I said, "Do you think that the next Nasirist Party will be a new form of a socialist union, or will it be a party that will become engaged in the partisan experience as a party?"

He said, "I am not a spokesman for the party, but I can tell you that we will be engaged in the experiment as a party. Just like any other party would, we will agree about some things and object to others."

Perhaps one of the most important days for Nasirists in Egypt was that day when the anniversary of 'Abd-al-Nasir was commemorated in the Bar Association. That commemorative celebration was attended by players in Egypt's political forces, most notably, Sha'rawi Jum'ah, 'Ali Sabri, Muhammad Fa'iq and Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir, the late president's son.

What was exciting was that enthusiastic greeting with which Gen Muhammad Fawzi, the former minister of war was received. The audience gave the man an emotional welcome. It is being said that the man is one of the heroes of the Egyptian military who did not get the recognition and appreciation he deserved. Many speakers addressed the audience at that celebration. Chief among them were Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir, Farid 'Abd-al-Karim, 'Ali Sabri and Mr Fathi Radwan, who exclaimed in the auditorium, "Where are you, 'Abd-al-Nasir? We are like orphans today without you!"

Not Overnight!

Mr Mustafa Amin, an Egyptian writer who is considered to have the most influence

on public opinion in recent times, told me, "President Mubarak knows exactly the magnitude of the problems that are facing the country. He knows that these problems cannot be solved overnight."

Responding to a question I put to him, Mr Mustafa Amin added, "My son, the democratic practices that you see today were not forced on President Mubarak. He wants a climate in which a healthy dialogue between all forces can take place." I paused at length in front of Mr Mustafa Amin's statement: "a healthy dialogue between all forces."

I asked myself that question again and again: A dialogue between whom and whom? When I began to discover the features of an answer to that question, I concluded that "the debate," the "dialogue" and the "struggle"--agreement or disagreement--revolved within a circumscribed circle between the ruler and the ruled, between present and past politicians, between the government and the opposition and between some enlightened forces or segments that are concerned about the situation because of the effect political conditions have on their economic interests. The political game in Egypt has been restricted since 1952 to a limited and circumscribed group of people that narrows and broadens depending on the climate that is made available by the government.

Although what Egypt is experiencing these days doubtlessly indicates that the government is giving as much leeway as possible to the exercise of freedom of speech, the parties participating in that process have not changed. Hence the importance of the participation of the Wafd, the Muslim Brothers and the Nasirists in the next elections campaign.

A responsible minister assured AL-MAJALLAH that there will be no falsifications in the upcoming election.

When we asked him about administrative pressures, that is, intervention by state agencies, he said, "There will be no administrative interventions. But let me ask you this: is there a single political system in the world where the state does not apply pressure to make its party win by legitimate means? Doesn't this happen in the United States?"

Again we pause and ask, "What is the government's position, and what is the opposition's position in the elections?"

AL-MAJALLAH's reading of the present configuration of forces affirms that the opposition will get between 40 and 50 seats in parliament. Most of these seats will be held by a coalition of the Wafd and Muslim Brothers. AL-MAJALLAH thinks that the government's party will be able to get between 60 and 70 percent of the seats in parliament and that it will succeed in getting most of its seats from rural precincts. The opposition, however, will score its biggest victories in the capital, in Alexandria, in al-Mansurah and in Asyut.

But what is it that can weaken and strengthen each one of the parties?

--With regard to the opposition:

1. If the Wafd can keep the Coptic vote, which constitutes at least 2 million votes, that will lead to a sharp turn in results.

This matter is up to the position that Archbishop Shanuda III will take. He is the spiritual leader of Egyptian Copts who is in voluntary exile in a monastery in the area of Wadi al-Natrun on the Cairo-Alexandria Desert Highway.

Because the archbishop was removed from his office by a political decision, no one knows exactly whether or not the secret talks that have been going on between him and President Husni Mubarak for more than 2 years will lead to his reinstatement and his return to his activities before the election.

It is known that Archbishop Shanuda III is extremely popular among Egyptian copts who have been known for their loyalty to the old Wafd Party. The old Wafd Party used to adopt secular slogans, and it used to include in its ranks numerous prominent [Coptic] leaders, most notably Makram 'Ibayd, and most recently, Ibrahim Faraj, the prominent member of the New Wafd.

2. [The weakness or strength of the opposition will depend on] the ability of the Wafd to maintain an almost untenable equation to satisfy the Muslim Brothers who are joining the Wafd in a coalition for the elections campaign. The Wafd is joining this coalition at a time when it is trying to hold on to its traditional Coptic supporters.

3. [The weakness or strength of the opposition will depend on] the ability of the Grouping Party (the left) to attract the votes of Nasirists who are considering running in the elections with their own list. The importance of the Nasirist vote in this election is such that Mr Muhammad al-Sa'dani wrote an article in AL-MUSAWWAR Magazine calling for a coalition between the Nasirists and the National Party to stem the tide of the New Wafd, which is considered one of the enemies of the revolution.

Nasirists rejected that idea when Mr Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, a leading Nasirist figure, said in an interview by Hamdin Sabahi in AL-SHA'B, "The forces that raided the gains which 'Abd-al-Nasir had made cannot possibly be the ones to defend 'Abd-al-Nasir." Haykal said, "The National Party is Anwar al-Sadat's party; it can never be a Nasirist party."

In his attack on the National Party Haykal was careful not to commit the forbidden act of attacking President Husni Mubarak who is the president of the party. Haykal said, "President Husni Mubarak occasionally visits scores of factories that were inaugurated by 'Abd-al-Nasir."

--With regard to the ruling party:

1. [The weakness or strength of the ruling party will depend on] the ability of the government at the present time to maintain current pricing policies and not to respond to the demands made by some international organizations to lift some of these subsidies.

2. [It will depend on] the government's position on the political decision to remove Archbishop Shanuda III from his office. It is being said that reinstatement of the archbishop will cause Egyptian Copts to vote for the government's party.

3. [The ruling party will be strengthened by] the failure of the Wafd to select

names that are really popular among voters. These people would be running against many of the government's candidates who have become such strong players in election games that some of them manage elections professionally.

4. Tension in Egypt's foreign relations, particularly in its Arab relations has been relaxed considerably. This may provide indications that would enable the government to get Egypt out of its Arab isolation, and that would have positive effects on average Egyptian voters.

The President Follows Up

What is President Mubarak's real position on all that is happening?

A source close to the Egyptian president assured me, "The president knows quite well that he is the heir to a tripartite legacy: in government, in the opposition and in the street.

"The main players of al-Sadat's game can still be found in government with their shortcomings. The strength of these players is such that they cannot be eliminated in one fell swoop. An operation [like that] would have been easy in 'Abd-al-Nasir's time because 'Abd-al-Nasir's forces were in the system and when al-Sadat struck them down, they fell. However, the process is different after al-Sadat's death because al-Sadat's power lies in the social segment he has left behind."

The source added, "As far as the opposition is concerned, President Mubarak realizes the need to have an 'appropriate opposition movement' with restrictions and controls. But the major problem lies among average Egyptians who want their needs met without involving themselves in the process of obtaining those needs."

Then the source said, "The situation is difficult and complicated. It is not as simple as some people had expected. But the president is determined to continue putting out an equal effort to solve these problems in government, among average Egyptians and in the opposition."

Then I asked that source, "Does this mean then that the president stands to benefit from the new organization of the Muslim Brothers, the Wafd and the Nasirists so he can strike down the corrupt social segment that he had depended on in the previous administration?"

The source laughed and said, "You will not get me or anyone else to tell you that. But let me ask you to ask yourself how is it that Fua'd Siraj al-Din Pasha came back on the scene--before the court ordered political isolation was lifted--and how is it that he began applying himself to politics and giving scores of interviews in the press? How is it that at the same time Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani, the leader of the Muslim Brothers Society, began for the first time in 30 years the political activity of the Muslim Brothers?"

I interrupted him here to say, "Does this mean that there is a gentleman's agreement between them and the president?"

The source was silent. He did not add a single word to deny or confirm the question I had asked.

The Birthday of the Prophet's Cousin and the Elections

I went to investigate a so-called celebration commemorating the birthday of Our Lord al-Husayn in Cairo. I found that the square and the surrounding area were packed with about 1 million Egyptians, most of whom were from rural areas. These people who were sleeping in the streets or in small hotels, had come from everywhere to spend money they had saved in a whole year for that occasion. They came believing in the heresy that a visit to al-Husayn could cure a sick person or realize something they had been hoping for.

I contemplated that scene and I wondered, "Why is it that 1 million Egyptians would come here from everywhere in the country when in the run-off elections in the precinct of Muharram Bey in Alexandria the candidate who won did win by 2,000 votes out of a total of 35,000 voters who have a right to vote?"

Why are people getting involved in heretical practices and not in an election? Are Egyptians confident that supplication and prayer at tombs can achieve for them what political parties cannot?

Figures about voter participation in Egypt are frightening. There are 25 million persons in Egypt who have a right to vote. Only 12 million are registered to vote. Under the best of conditions it is expected that half of the registered voters will vote. This means that from 10 to 15 percent of Egypt's population will decide the future of political life in Egypt for the coming period, while between 90 and 85 percent are not involved in this process at all.

The opposition is most interested these days in the possibility of involving the public. Egypt's minister of the interior, Maj Gen Hasan Abu Basha, thinks that the public must be encouraged to become involved in politics. He thinks people must be encouraged to express their opinions, whether they vote for the ruling party or the opposition.

A song that many Egyptian intellectuals like may be the most important illustration of how important the involvement of the Egyptian public in the elections is. The song is sung by Muhammad Munir, and the lyrics are by the poet, Majdi Najib. The Egyptian censor has authorized the release of that song on cassettes. [The words of the song state]:

"Speak up; why do you hold your peace?

"Speak up; why be the only one to pay the price?

"Speak up; why should you lie dormant under the shadows of night?

"Behind that veil of silence, you've seen those who have betrayed you and you can tell tales about them.

"Speak up; why do you hold your peace?"

This indicates to us that the strongest party in Egypt these days is that party whose action or reaction remains unknown to those in government or in the opposition. That party is the party of average Egyptians. It is the party of the majority; the party of silence.

SUDANESE WOMEN'S DELEGATION FAMILIARIZED WITH FAMILY PLANNING EFFORTS

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 6 Feb 84 p 14

[Article by Zaynab Ibrahim: "Exchange of Family-Planning Experiences Between Egyptian and Sudanese Women"]

[Text] Within the framework of integration between Egypt and the fraternal Republic of Sudan, a Sudanese women's delegation comprised of Widad 'Aydarus, Rashidah Bushra Sulayman and Badriyah 'Abdallah Barakat, who are employees of the Development and Population Information Department of fraternal Sudan, visited Cairo in the past few days to take part in a training course for information and family-planning officials and to exchange experiences between the two countries in this field.

Widad 'Aydarus has said that this course was organized through coordination between the Ministry of Information and the Family Planning Agency. We have met with the Egyptian brothers working in the field of family planning and population in the various governorates of Egypt and we have benefited greatly from their experiences and from the invaluable lectures we have heard from the Information College professors. Numerous information theories pertaining to the field of family planning were presented and we will try to apply all of them in Sudan when the environmental conditions and material resources help us to do so.

Rashidah Bushra Sulayman has said that Sudan does not have a family planning agency like the one in Egypt. Rather, there is a family planning association headed by Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Qabili. Most of the association's members are doctors and people working in the sphere of information and social welfare. This is because the call for family planning in our country is different from the call for family planning in Egypt. We do not at all call for birth control. We have vast cultivable lands that need labor. Moreover, the population is relatively small in comparison with the country's area. This is why our concept of family planning calls for encouraging childbirth while taking into consideration the question of familiarizing women with the need to provide for long-spaced periods between one childbirth and another in order to safeguard the mother's and the child's health. We exert concentrated efforts in this appeal. We also use all the visual, aural and written information media. We also use the method of symposiums, lectures and direct contact with the people.

Badriyah 'Abdallah Barakat, a member of the Sudanese delegation, has stressed that the Sudanese family planning associations are altogether voluntary associations whose members get no material recompense whatsoever. Moreover, most of their members are doctors. Therefore, the call for family planning in our country comes from the health centers and focuses on maternal and child care and on serving working women by exerting efforts to set up nurseries meeting the latest international standard to care for our children, the future leaders. Through this voluntary association, we also exert efforts to survey all the development efforts and activities in Sudan. This is why we pay constant field visits to the work sites and record in word and picture the great accomplishments being achieved in such sites and then present them to the people in a special weekly television program that reviews accomplishments in the spheres of development in Sudan.

Badriyah 'Abdallah Barakat also said: We also use other information media, such as movie trucks [mobile film projectors] and art shows. We have an annual show in which we use physical displays to present all our accomplishments in the recent years of the revolution in all the spheres of production, industry and agriculture. We also have a monthly paper called AL-JARIDAH AL-INMA'YIAH [Development Newspaper], in addition to our employing the method of direct contact with the citizens to familiarize them with the revolution's accomplishments in the sphere of development and services. We do this by visiting the citizens in their work sites.

Fatimah al-Batal, a regional coordinator at the Family Planning and Population Bureau in al-Jizah who was selected by bureau director Samir al-Hajrasi to accompany the Sudanese delegation members, said that the (International Family Planning Federation) devotes special attention to the medical aspect of the family planning process by urging long-spaced periods between one childbirth and another so as to protect the mother's and the child's health. In the information course, various methods were presented on how to contact people and how to formulate information plans to change the environmental behavior of individuals so that they may tie development to the population problem. In this training course conducted for information officials, we have also benefited in the sphere of family planning in terms of how to develop the information method and to produce information material. In fact, a pamphlet called I'ILAMIYAT has been issued with the participation of Rashidah Bushra Sulayman from the fraternal Sudan in some press topics.

Fatimah al-Batal added that the Sudanese delegation met during the course with 12 information officials from 12 Egyptian governorates, including al-Jizah, al-Qalyubiyah, al-Buhayrah, Damietta, al-Sharqiyah and al-Gharbiyah. These are the governorates where the population and development programs are implemented. Each governorate reviewed its pioneer experience in the sphere of family planning. Al-Jizah Governorate has engaged in activity distinguishing it from the other governorates in this regard, employing folklore art in advocating family planning. A visit to al-Samir Theatre was organized for the members of the Sudanese delegation who met

with 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Shafi'i and heard special popular songs on the advantages of the small family and other songs on the economic integration between Egypt and Sudan. The Sudanese delegation lauded the magnificent role played by the folklore song and its strong impact on the citizens in Egypt's villages and hamlets.

Al-Sayyid al-Badawi Anniversary and Family Planning

In the opinion of Fatimah al-Batal, al-Gharbiyah Governorate is also one of the pioneer governorates in the sphere of family planning. The governorate utilizes the anniversary of al-Sayyid al-Badawi to advocate family planning by showing recreational health and social films, in addition to readings of Koran passages advocating family planning.

The Sudanese women's delegation, accompanied by Fatimah al-Batal, visited one of the projects of the Family Planning and Population Bureau in al-Jizah. The project is connected with population and development at the village level and is located in the village of al-Barajil. The delegation members lauded the magnificent role performed by the women pioneers in Egypt in serving the rural population, especially since these pioneers are volunteers. This is in contrast to the visiting health workers in Sudan who are employees collecting wages for their work. The delegation members expressed the hope to apply the experiment of rural women pioneers in their country. The delegation also visited a rural family in al-Barajil and expressed their admiration for the Egyptian silk "sieve."

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CURBS ON ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION URGED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 48, 10 Mar 84 p 63

[Article by Usamah Ghayth: "Pollution Reaches Epidemic Levels in Cairo; Call for Creation of 'Ministry of Environment' Reflects Dangerous Trend"]

[Text] Five thousand years ago, the inscriptions of the ancient Egyptian said "I have not disobeyed my father and have not polluted the Nile water." Moreover, Islam says that cleanliness is next to godliness. However, the modern way of life has disregarded these traditions and teachings and the result has been 650 tons of pollutants per square kilometer of land in Cairo.

"Dying of love" is a phrase that has lost its credibility and vitality the world over and that has been replaced by the phrase "dying of pollution." In ancient times, people said "he who does not die by the sword dies by something else." The successive generations have lived to find out that the "something else" is environmental pollution in all its forms, shapes and colors, beginning with air and water pollution and ending with all the pollutants come in touch with in our daily life, including pollutants in foodstuffs, drinks, clothing, medicines, compounds and drugs that are indispensable to the modern man. It is as if each of us is saying "treat me with the cause of the malady."

At a time when the figures and statistics supplied by scientists and researchers in Egypt say that the main cause of the illness of 80 percent of hospital patients and other patients emanates from environmental pollution and that the cause of 40 percent of the deaths is drinking water, we, the modern men of the home computer age, are faced with a picture that is more than 5,000 years old and that is reflected in the inscriptions of a Pharaonic cemetery--inscriptions in which the Egyptian man implores the gods humbly, offers them sacrifices and declares before them the covenants of his piety and righteousness and the pacts of his worthiness to enter heaven, saying: "I have not disobeyed my father, I have not been evil, I have not killed and I have not polluted the Nile water because he who polluts the Nile water does not enter paradise." Five thousand years ago, the awareness, education and high civilization of the ancient Egyptian enabled him to realize that entering paradise is tied to his safeguarding the Nile water and protecting it from pollution because the Nile water is the life of Egypt's good earth and that unpolluted water is the source of fertility and abundance throughout the valley and the delta.

Five thousand years later, the hard figures supplied by the researchers and scientists, published in a modest, timid, neglected and forgettable corner of our press, tell us that the inhabitants of one single area on the banks of the Nile in Hulwan dump into the river 42 million cubic meters of industrial waste water annually. The morning news tell us that the waste produced by 5 hotels on the Nile islands and banks near Aswan pollute the river water near its southern gates when it has barely entered the Egyptian soil and flowed into its territories.

On 1 April 2 years ago, a Greek radio station told the inhabitants of Athens to leave and abandon the city because the pollution rate had reached a level that made it impossible to live in the city. The inhabitants left their city but the radio station announced shortly afterwards that that was "April's fool." The government fired the station manager for this white lie. However, the state of panic and fear demonstrates to what degree today's man has become aware of the pollution situation surrounding him and barging into his life at every moment.

In recent years, the Egyptian Government has become aware of the need to protect the environment from pollution and a sum of \$24.4 million has been allocated as a first installment for the program to improve the industrial environment. Agreement has also been reached with the foreign oil firms on a \$50-million program to prevent pollution of the Egyptian shores by crude oil.

There is currently a strong call in Egypt to create a "ministry of environment" to protect the environment and to implement the programs necessary for the purpose. An environmental protection agency has been in fact established under the direct control of the Egyptian prime minister. This is a beneficial lesson to the Arab brothers moving toward construction, civilization and industrialization--a lesson teaching them to protect their environment and telling them that "environmental protection restrictions" must be observed and respected most seriously and firmly, that they should seek inspiration from the Pharonic Egyptian papyrus saying that the "first thing about which man is asked or for which he is brought to account on the day of resurrection--the ancient Egyptians believed in resurrection and the hereafter--is whether he committed a crime or a sin against the Nile water" so that they may not repeat the millions of crimes committed by the descendants [of the ancient peoples] against water throughout the Arab homeland from the ocean to the Gulf.

Laxity in imposing environmental protection restrictions on industry can put any Arab city in the position of Cairo--and we don't know whether numerous cities are already in the same position or not--where 650 tons of dust, sands and car exhaust fumes fall on every square kilometers monthly. The result declared by the scientific reports is that 88.4 percent of the population suffer from environmental pollution, 84.6 percent from air pollution and 56.3 percent from water pollution.

In a single area, namely the area of Hulwan near Cairo, the cement plants emit 200 tons [of pollutants] from their chimney stacks daily, i.e. 5.5 percent of the production capacity of these plants. Through modern aspirators, the major part of these emissions can be gathered and used as additional production. Consequently, the rate of dust emissions falling at present in the Hulwan area amounts to 377 tons per square mile monthly whereas this rate was 145 tons per square mile monthly about 10 years ago. This means that there has been an increase of 250 percent in the emissions.

Vehicles in the greater city of Cairo, amounting to 600,000 vehicles, emit annually 80,000 tons of pollutants. Similar amounts of pollutants fall on many of the major Arab cities whose streets are jammed with similar numbers of vehicles. Cairo's refuse amounts to 2 million tons annually. Because sewerage water seeps deep into the earth, the underground water has been polluted. This is a phenomenon from which the world's advanced industrial countries also suffer. The water of the rivers of these countries has, as a result of industrial pollution and sewage pollution, become unfit for human or animal consumption and needs special chemical treatment.

There are real fears of some types of advanced technology and of their harm to the environment. Despite the restrictions the advanced countries, especially the United States, impose on this advanced technology, they still encourage its exportation to third world countries, as in the case of the nuclear power plants and the enormous fears pertaining to their operation.

The call for environmental protection is not a luxury that can be postponed or can wait until it finds its place in the list of the Arab concerns and preoccupations. It is an issue that requires large-scale attention so that our Arab world may not turn into an environmental pollution area whose maps carry the words "prohibited area." If the words uttered by the ancient Egyptian 5,000 years ago have lost their influence and impact, then the clear and frank call of Islam saying that "cleanliness is next to godliness" is closer to our hearts and ears.

8494

CSO: 4504/218

BENEFITS OF BIOGAS AS ENERGY ALTERNATIVE EXPOUNDED

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 6 Feb 84 p 13

[Article by Kamal-al-Din Husayn: "Biogas: New Addition to Our Country's Energy Sources; Biogas Production Contributes to Village and City Cleanliness and Supplies Fertilizer for Increased Cultivable Area"]

[Text] During his visit to al-Fayyum, President Husni Mubarak lauded the biogas unit set up by the Agriculture College and urged the need to expand [production of] alternative energy to electricity and petroleum whose consumption is multiplying. The Ministry of Agriculture, out of its belief in the need to look for alternative energy sources, has introduced biogas into the sphere of implementation with the aim of creating alternative sources to the cultivable land and of saving the hard currency paid for the importation of fertilizer. The college has actually begun to employ technology to produce biogas from livestock, crop and human waste in the village and the city. Biogas is a necessary source of energy, especially since electrical appliances have entered the village and since village energy consumption has begun to rival city consumption. As a result of the rising demand, the butagas cylinder has become unavailable and difficult to get. When we learn that our electricity consumption has risen nearly 23 times in the past 30 years, petroleum 76 times and butagas 109 times and that the same thing has happened with kerosene, benzine and fuel oil, the situation motivates us to say that the use of alternative energy sources must be expanded.

Dr Nabil 'Ala'-al-Din, the official supervising the biogas project, has reviewed and summed up the process of acquiring biogas, saying that it seeks to produce an alternative to the butagas which is highly expensive and is subsidized by the state. The project also seeks to provide cheap energy that can be used for all household appliances, such as washers, refrigerators and ovens. Biogas can be transformed into electric energy operating all such appliances. Biogas can be obtained from manure, crop leftovers and refuse in the village. In the city, biogas can be obtained from household waste, slaughterhouse waste, garbage dumps and other sources. The concept is simple and inexpensive. Biogas production can be expanded in separate areas independently, thus helping to preserve the beauty and cleanliness of such areas. Moreover, biogas makes it possible to obtain

fertilizer, which costs us hard currency [to import] and fodder by providing large quantities of organic material which have been used to obtain energy through direct incineration. Biogas protects the countryside from pollution as a result of the incineration of these leftovers.

Dr Ibrahim 'Antar, the head of the Land and Water Research Institute, says that the energy problem emerged when man began to consume energy at rates exceeding available energy resources, and man has not stopped his unjust attack on nature by exhausting energy sources without any sound planning.

In Egypt, our electricity consumption rose from 929 megawatts in 1952 to 21,383 megawatts in 1982, i.e. by 23 times during the past 30 years. The general average of the increase in our petroleum consumption has amounted to fivefold in the past 30 years, keeping in mind that the population has grown in the same period from 19 million to 44 million, i.e. it has grown 2.3 times only.

It is expected that our energy needs will grow further as a result of implementation of the ambitious development program, with these needs amounting by the year 2000 to the equivalent of 50 million tons of oil, of which 46.4 million tons will be in crude oil.

Biogas has created a revolution in supplying high-value fodder for livestock, as well as in supplying fertilizer.

Biogas is an energy alternative and it is a technology new to the Egyptian farmer. The plan seeks to have at least 2 [biogas production] units established in every village to utilize the farm leftovers and livestock waste. We are receiving requests from numerous villages to set up biogas units now that biogas has become known to the farmers, that it has proven its success and that it has become economically feasible.

Dr Nabil 'Ala'-al-Din, the official in charge of the project, believes that expansion of the project is necessary, especially since the television, refrigerator, washing machine and oven have entered most rural homes. Biogas can be utilized to run these appliances. Moreover, it has numerous benefits that motivate us to expand its use, especially since the pressure on the electricity, butagas [butane gas] and kerosene energy sources has intensified greatly.

Dr. Nabil 'Ala'-al-Din adds that generalizing the use of biogas will be one of the important means to rationalize the government subsidy for strategic goods. Biogas leads to reduced dependence on electricity and oil derivatives as a source of energy, keeping in mind that the government subsidy for this source amounts to 90 percent of its price. Consequently, the subsidy can be channelled toward other aspects.

Moreover, biogas contributes to reducing eye diseases in the Egyptian countryside, to diminishing the chances of fires, to protecting the environment from pollution and to protecting man's health by eliminating most of the germs and parasites that expose both man and plant to diseases.

Expanded utilization of the biogas process makes it possible to enhance efficient energy in the Egyptian village and to add new sources of fodder, in addition to increasing the fertilizers re-ploughed into the soil from 312,000 tons annually to 726,000 tons annually.

The process will also increase the rural fertilizer produced from 107 million cubic meters annually at present to nearly 300 million cubic meters (with an increase of nearly 280 percent), thus exceeding the quantity needed to make up for the current deficit in rural fertilizer, estimated at 120 million cubic meters annually.

On the other hand, this gas can be used to operate engines and machinery, beginning with the tractor and ending with lighting an electric bulb for 6 hours.

Dr Samir al-Shaymi, the researcher at the Land and Water Research Institute, asserts that when biogas units are set up in every city and village, the result will be protecting the environment and eliminating rats, keeping in mind that crop leftovers and grasses are the natural [breeding] sites for rats. These leftovers are used in the biogas production units. Utilization of the biogas process makes it possible to get rid of the solid materials that settle in the sewage treatment plants and to use these materials in generating energy and to obtain good-quality fertilizer.

Out of its belief in the benefit of biogas, the Ministry of Agriculture has imported land irrigation machinery and electricity generators operated by biogas instead of fuel oil. The purpose of all this is to develop Egyptian machinery so that it may operate on biogas, especially since converting the machinery to use biogas instead of fuel oil does not cost a lot.

We welcome any specialist in the Engineering College wishing to assist us and we will supply him with all the resources to spread the use of biogas in the villages and in all spheres, especially since electricity has entered most of the Egyptian villages, and along with it television, the refrigerator and the washing machine.

Dr al-Shaymi adds that chicken farms need thermal energy to warm the chick hangars in the early days of the chicks' life and also for lighting in order to prolong the day to increase the feeding hours and to enhance the chick growth rates. The sources of this energy vary but all the farms share the hardship of getting energy regularly. The use of biogas will solve numerous problems because the farm leftovers are used to meet the farm's energy needs. Thus, the more efficient is the farm in breeding chickens, the more leftovers it generates to be used to secure a constant source of energy. The same applies to the livestock farms and to the plants processing agricultural products.

In the Asian countries, biogas is used as a fuel for big vehicles. It is placed atop buses and trucks in a big tank connected with the vehicle's engine by hose.

It has been proven that the fertilizer produced by the biogas process is more suitable for cultivable and reclaimed lands than manure and urea. Considering that Egypt needs to utilize all the resources available to it to enhance [sentence incomplete].

8494

CSO: 4504/218

WIDESPREAD GERMAN INVESTMENT IN LIBYA

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German
12 Mar 84 p 2

/Text/ Frankfurt, 11 March--In Libya, German enterprises are essentially involved in the country's industrialization which is being pushed by the government in order to create a broader economic base. Here we must in particular mention the development of the iron and steel industry as well as the petrochemical industry. German enterprises have also been involved in the buildup of the consumer goods industry (textile industry, essential foods industry, tire industry) and received valuable contracts for the expansion of the required supporting structure (water and energy supply, telecommunications). In Libya, German enterprises are also working in the petroleum industry. They are VEBA /United Electricity and Mining Corporation/ Oil AG /Incorporated/, Gelsenkirchen-Buer, and Deminex-Deutsche Erdoelversorgungsgesellschaft mbH, Essen.

German enterprises which have a major commitment in Libya include Fried. Krupp GmbH /limited liability company/, Essen, with its affiliates and partnership companies. In 1981, Krupp Industrietechnik GmbH, Duisburg, became the project manager of a consortium which is erecting Steel Mill II in Misurata as part of a huge iron and steel complex now under construction. The consortium also includes the Austrian VOeEST /United Austrian Iron and Steel Works, Inc./ Alpine AG, Linz, Thosti Bau-AG, Augsburg, and BBC (Brown, Boverie & Cie. AG), Mannheim, and Mannesmann Anlagenbau AG, Duesseldorf (see the 7 September 1981 issue).

A German consortium, under the overall management of Krupp Industrietechnik GmbH, Harburg plant, at the end of 1983 completed one of the world's most modern tire plants for the production of diagonal and textile radial tires on an area of 30 hectares in Tajura near Tripolis. The value of the contract for the complete plant--whose annual capacity is 450,000 tires and 540,000 inner tubes for passenger cars and trucks, buses, and tractors--came to around DM350 million. The tire plant, which is a part of a complex for an independent Libyan auto industry, employs around 800 workers.

Recently, Krupp Industrietechnik GmbH, Buckau-Wolf plant, delivered in turn-key condition a big plant for drinking water supply in Zuetina on the Mediterranean coast with a contract value of about DM140 million. The ocean water desalination plant, which operates according to the multistage expansion evaporation method, was given three blocks with a daily capacity of

10,000 cubic meters of distillate, each. For its own in-house power supply, a thermal power plant was added to the system with two blocks (7.5 Megawatts, each). Both the inhabitants in the Ajdabiya area and the industrial consumers located there can now be supplied with adequate water in long-range terms. Krupp Mak /Kiel Machine-building, Inc./ in recent times erected a plant with an installed capacity of 50 Megawatts in Libya and expanded the stations, delivered during earlier years, by a total capacity of 60 Megawatts. The diesel power station for emergency power supply for the Tripolis airport was equipped with four diesel motors (4.7 Megawatts, each). Another enterprise, which is included in the Krupp Group, Total Walther Feuerschutz GmbH, Cologne, last year received a big contract for the delivery of 70,000 portable fire extinguishers from Libya.

Libya is likewise an important customer for Siemens AG, Munich and Berlin. It was also involved in the construction of the Misratah steel complex where it was given the job of delivering and installing voluminous electrical engineering equipment for a rolling mill. Siemens AG has until now been decisively involved in the development of the Libyan telecommunications system. Its recent contracts in this field include the delivery and assembly of four local exchanges with corresponding direct-dialling facilities, the expansion of existing exchanges, as well as the delivery of five mobile telephone exchanges. Siemens AG also took over the job of expanding the local telephone network in Tubruq and in the spring of 1983 received another important order for the delivery of the T-1000 electronic teletype. Siemens AG was able to get orders for the delivery and installation of medium-voltage switching systems and electrical engineering equipment needed for the construction of a new naval academy. It was furthermore given a contract to supply the electrical engineering equipment for a cement plant, a grain mill, and three energy fodder factories. A German consortium, with Bilfinger & Berger Construction Company, Mannheim, acting as project manager, also including Buhler-Miag GmbH, Brunswick, was given a contract for the construction of the three energy fodder factories worth a total of DM352 million. Both energy fodder factories in Banghazi and Tubruq began production in the autumn of 1983. The construction of the fodder factory in Sirte was delayed also because of difficulties connected with the company's founding.

Another enterprise in the electrical engineering field which we might list here is the previously mentioned BBC which, together with the BBC Concern Company in Baden, Switzerland, received an order for the complete electrical engineering equipment of the cold-rolling mill in the Misratah smelter plant. BBC Mannheim had earlier received three important orders, the first of which had a value of just about DM250 million and dealt with the expansion of the thermal power plant erected by it in Darnah with the addition of two oil-fired blocks (130 Megawatts, each), which were to be placed in operation in 1983. The second order (DM230 million) concerns the delivery and assembly of transformer stations by means of which three oases as well as oil fields are to be connected to the national grid.

The third order, worth more than DM 200 million, was awarded by the Electricity Corporation of Banghazi for the expansion of the Tubruq thermal power plant, which had previously been built by BBC Mannheim, with the

addition of two oil-fired blocks (totalling 130 Megawatts). This power plant's power generating capacity, upon completion of the expansion project in the middle of 1984, will be doubled. The contract also includes the delivery of a 66-kilovolt and a 220-kilovolt high-tension switching system as well as the entire electrical and control equipment.

Deutsche Babcock AG, Oberhausen, and its affiliates and partnership companies, were recently involved in the construction of hospitals, sports facilities, hotels, and chemical plants. Deutsche Babcock Bau GmbH was given an order to build five fully airconditioned hospitals (135 beds, each) to be located in Surman, Ijlah, Al Imayel, Bun, and Ghadamis. Babcock Bau GmbH furthermore built three sports facilities in Nalut, Yefren, and Ghadamis which were followed by nine others. TKT (Turbon Tunzini Klimatechnik GmbH), Bergisch Gladbach/Berlin, which is a part of the Babcock Group, handled the delivery and assembly of the entire building equipment for the Janzour Tourist Village and a hotel (300 beds) in Banghazi. This building equipment above all includes the airconditioning plant to generate the necessary energies, as well as systems and installations for sanitary facilities. This contract is scheduled to be completed in the middle of 1984. Borsig GmbH, Berlin, supplied nine compact boilers for an ethylene plant in Marsa Al-Burayqah.

A German consortium, under the overall management of SIG (Salzgitter Industriebau GmbH), Salzgitter, completed the important chemical complex in Abu Kammash near the border with Tunisia. KHD Engineering GmbH, Cologne, was given the job of managing the chemical complex (chlorine, alkali, VCM, PVC). Uhde GmbH, Dortmund, an enterprise of the Hoechst Group, built an ammonia-methanol complex in turnkey condition in Marsa Al-Burayqah, including all secondary installations and support facilities, such as a gas turbine power plant (50 Megawatts), ocean water desalination plant, workshops, administrative buildings, storage tanks, roads, squares, and a residential camp. In addition to the ammonia plant (1,000 tons per day), the complex includes two methanol plants (1,000 tons per day, each) and a urea plant (1,750 tons per day). Uhde GmbH erected a vinylchloride plant (65,000 tons per day) for the chemical complex in Abu Kammash and a chlorine plant (130 tons per day). Mannesmann Demag AG, Duisburg, delivered the necessary condensers for both methanol plants.

Unionmatex GmbH, Schwalbach a. Ts., a joint enterprise involving German textile machine producers, was given a contract for the construction of a carpet factory in Bani Walid in Libya, about 180 kilometers south of Tripolis. The value of the contract was given at more than DM200 million. Before that, it had erected a blanket factory with a needle section, weaving section, and equipment in El Marj. Wilhelm Sihm Jr. KG [limited partnership], Niefern-Oeschelbronn, is building an assembly plant for room antennas in Libya which is being equipped exclusively with German power machinery based on its knowhow.

Kathmann AG, Vechta, an important enterprise in the poultry branch, was given the job of building a big project in Libya which is distributed over the entire country with individual construction phases and construction sites. Assmann & Stockder GmbH, Stuttgart, was given an order in Libya worth several million DM for the planning, delivery, and assembly

supervision of a refrigeration warehouse. ECT (Engineering Consulting and Trade GmbH), Peine, in the summer of 1983 accepted an order from AGOCO (Arabian Gulf Oil Company) worth about DM5 million for the clearing of about 150,000 mines planted by the British, German, and Italian armed forces in the former combat zone (World War II) of the Libyan desert.

5058

CSO: 4620/37

INTERIOR MINISTER 'ARAR INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL ISSUES

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 44, 11 Feb 84 pp 24-25

[Interview with Sulayman 'Arar, Minister of Interior, former journalist, by Khalid Muhadin: "Jordan: Return of Parliament Is an Internal Step; The Emigre Press Is Orientalist"; date not specified]

[Text] Sulayman 'Arar, the new minister of the interior, formerly had a daily column in the newspaper, AL-RA'Y, took over the duties of editor in chief, became president of the journalists union and then was appointed minister of the interior. If some people were surprised about this progression and asked questions about it, the Jordanian people, generally, received the news without any feeling of astonishment or question.

In Mr Ahmad 'Ubaydat's new government, Sulayman assumed the position of deputy prime minister and minister of the interior. During the 20 months which preceded that, 'Arar had held the chairmanship of the National Consultative Council with real success. When the Arab Patriotic Union was functioning, he was one of its leaders. That experiment ended with a feeling shared by the government and the citizens that it was difficult to devise any organizational structure by means of authority, and that any real design must emanate from the base.

AL-TADAMUN conducted the first press interview with Sulayman 'Arar in his capacity as deputy prime minister and minister of the interior of Jordan.

[Question] Jordan's request to reconvene the House of Representatives after such a long time has raised many questions. What is the real explanation behind this request?

[Answer] I agree that many questions have been raised, but all in all these questions are not relevant. The invitation to the Jordanian House of Representatives to resume its constitutional authority within the context of the Jordanian constitution is really an internal matter, and in those past circumstances in which the House of Representatives remained inoperative, parliamentary life, in its essence, never escaped us. We have always had some sort of recourse to this life, and our concern to resume it has remained real all along.

It was necessary for us after 1974 to accept the absence of parliamentary life since the holding of elections following the expiration of the council became

an impossible matter because of the conditions of occupation. The Jordanian constitution stipulates that elections be held in each of the Kingdom's governorates at the same time and under the same conditions.

Constitutionalists, with effort and dedication, came up with a formula whereby the House of Representatives could fill vacancies resulting from death or other causes. But we faced another problem and that was how to maintain a legal quorum. In response to this difficulty, we decided to invite the Council to resume its authority, while at the same time introducing constitutional amendments to permit elections in the electoral districts, where it was possible to do so, while the Council moved to fill vacancies in those districts in which it was not possible to conduct elections.

This is exactly what happened. The Jordanian people had demanded the return of parliamentary life all along, regardless of differences in awareness or education, insisting that it was the sure expression of democracy. The National Consultative Council, during three sessions over a period of 6 years, was intent on this demand, stressing that the Council was not a viable substitute for parliamentary life.

Parliamentary life has now returned, and the by-elections to fill vacancies in the East Bank are about to begin. The hope is that those who are best suited to hold office will be chosen from among the candidates. We have travelled a long way towards development and a satisfactory level of intellectual and political awareness.

[Question] Jordan says that the call for the House of Representatives to resume its tasks is an internal matter, and Palestinian officials say the same thing, but many observers note that the Palestine Liberation Organization eyes the matter warily and requests more convincing explanations than they've had so far. What do you say about that?

[Answer] Everybody knows the stand of the Palestinian brothers on this matter. In Tunis, Brother Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, gave his understanding of the causes of the return to parliamentary life in our country. But in the final analysis, we do not need permission from anyone to exercise our constitutional rights. This is an internal matter, one for ourselves alone. We are aware of our brothers' understanding of this matter. The Palestine Liberation Organization welcomed our undertaking, and understood its magnitude and orientation. There are certain quarters who tried to politicize the matter, giving it different dimensions and goals, but I stress that our aim is to return constitutional life to our country.

[Question] It is said that Jordan lives in a political vacuum because of the absence of political parties and platforms. You, yourself, were at the helm of the Arab Patriotic Union which ended nowhere, an example of the futility of any effort to implement effective organization from above. What is your opinion, as an official and citizen, regarding the possibility of parties resuming their public activities, especially in view of the suspension during the late 50's of such activity and, indeed, the elimination of the parties, by the Ministry of the Interior?

[Answer] I, as a citizen, an official, and a person informed about our country's development, believe that parties, or any activity, or political immunity, must be organized. Our constitution does not forbid political parties. They were suspended in accordance with the law during a period in which most of them had foreign connections and motivations. During that time our country was subjected to intense propaganda against it, a situation which compelled the government to suspend political parties and laws relative to them. I want to emphasize that as soon as these obstacles cease to exist and as soon as there is sufficient confidence on the part of the people in the constitution, the law and their country, and an understanding of its problems, organized activity will be allowed to resume. By parties we mean those whose ideas and programs do not conflict with the constitution nor threaten the stability of the country or weaken its commitment to its domestic and national affairs.

[Question] In the declaration of the new government, on the basis of which they received a vote of confidence from the House of Representatives, there was an expressed determination to fight corruption, in all its forms and resulting effects.

The prime minister expressed his view that citizens' confidence generally rises with confidence in the honesty of the state and its commitment to fight corruption. Is there a particular idea which bears on this, and are there measures being taken that are directly connected with the fight against corruption?

[Answer] The government's affirmation is that it will fight corruption within legal limits, and to the maximum penalty that laws permit. This is what the government strives for. In developing countries such as ours, the government is the largest investment organizations. Due to circumstances of the economy; the high cost of living and the increase in the price of oil, corruption increased in many Third World countries. It is likely that Jordan is at the bottom of that list, but because we have a small population and limited resources, we watch one another very closely and are acutely sensitive to possibilities of corruption. The individual citizen is upset by any appearance of corruption, no matter how small it may be. This is natural, and in harmony with our Arab and Islamic upbringing. Our peoples' outlook illustrates an unambiguous Arab proverb: "He who steals an egg, steals a camel."* It is because of attitudes like that that the effort by the government to fight corruption was clearly evident. That effort was headed by Mr Mudar Badran. 'Ubaydat's government followed the same path, emphasizing that there would be no leniency with, or protection or acceptance of anything that hints of corruption.

[Question] You are the last president of the National Consultative Council which lasted 6 years. How do you assess this experience and can an alternative to constitutional parliamentary life be formed in regions which face conditions such as ours?

*There is no such thing as a small crime.

[Answer] I believe that it [serving with the National Consultative Council] was a good experience, and it did fill a vacuum in the absence of a parliament, but it cannot completely fill the vacuum, and it cannot take the place of constitutional, democratic life, because it does not have the means to settle relevant issues and cannot withdraw its confidence from the government when it concludes that the government is not meeting its responsibilities.

Members of the National Consultative Council were selected with care during its three sessions. Most of those who served were experienced and came from many sectors of the community. In itself, the experience of serving was very positive from the point of view of studying and deliberating the laws and their final enactment, but I want to stress that it was an experience that was not and cannot be taken as a substitute for parliamentary procedures, and that the return to those procedures became obvious and imperative. I, personally, demanded such a return even when I was a member and president of the Council. This was so because the Council itself did not satisfy our people, and, indeed, it must not aspire to do so. As far as the other people and other countries, I believe that the experience is suitable because decisions which emanate from the deliberation of a group consciously is much better than those which come from one person or a select few.

[Question] Talk circulates in Jordan regarding a new law for the impending elections. What is the thinking of the government about such a law? And can it be expected that after filling its vacancies that the present House of Representatives will debate and approve such a law?

[Answer] Perhaps it would be better if that question were addressed to the House of Representatives itself, but since I am concerned with the application of such a law, I would say that the present law is full of loopholes, and I can say further that many of its articles are restrictive and deficient. I hope that the state, with its institutions, is capable of changing the present legislation to a more progressive one. I am of the opinion that the request for change must come from the parliament, in spite of the fact that the law gives the government the right to draft the change. I do not say that this should take place right now, but I want to stress that the time has come to discuss it, especially when the current law, issued in 1960, has so many shortcomings.

[Question] There is a topic which foreign journalists and many observers have raised and which relates to assassination attempts to which some Jordanian diplomats have been subjected, and explosions which Jordan experienced in the last quarter of the past year [1983], during which the lack of government initiative in taking extraordinary security measures has been commented upon. What is the explanation of that?

[Answer] My explanation is simple. I have given it to foreign journalists and other observers many times. It is this: the government feels that the Jordanian people value and need the security and stability in which they now live and it is this which is threatened if various and ill-advised attempts to change the system succeed. School students, workers, and citizens of various sectors, by means of their quick reporting of unknown elements appearing in public places, or otherwise arousing suspicion, exposed many such attempts.

We, in Jordan, within our circumstances, and in situation similar to ours along the confrontation line, and with an open policy which does not include anything to cause us shame, or prompt a desire to hide, interact with one another with utmost tenderness. Our people, as you know, enjoy considerable freedom of criticism, speech, and commentary, and it is because of this that the citizens do not want the existing freedoms to be abused. The extent to which our citizens are attached to their country and identify their individual security with that of the country, has been confirmed by more than one trial, but in spite of that, I would like to affirm our desire to continue every security measure which does not constrain the citizen. Our eyes are open, and our equipment is advanced and modern, but more importantly, our trust in our citizens continues and increases every day.

[Question] Our last question is to you as a journalist, editor in chief, and former president of the journalists' union, as well as an avid reader. Do you believe that emigre Arab journalism has fulfilled its mission, or has the scope of geographic freedom in the Arab diaspora not had the desired effect?

[Answer] I believe that most emigre magazines are orientalist, and I hope that I will be forgiven for saying this, but their chests and backs are exposed and are easy targets for any Arab interest which they might antagonize or fail to please. I understand the desire of these magazines to hold onto markets and readers, and therefore their treatment of the issues of our Arab community is done indirectly.

The experience of the emigre magazines is bitter indeed, and I hope that circumstances will so avail themselves that they can return to the nation, breathe its air, treat its issues with total frankness and objectivity and without being beholden to anyone.

12477

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WOMEN VOTERS FOLLOW HUSBANDS

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 13 Mar 84 p 4

[Article by Pam Dougherty]

[Text] "EVEN if a hundred governments protect me, I will not disobey my husband. The government is not living with me in my house."

The speaker was an illiterate resident of the village of Sakib, north of Amman. She was talking about how she will use her vote in this week's by-election for the Jordanian Parliament.

Yesterday's election provided Jordanian women with their first chance to vote in a national election since they gained the right to vote in 1973.

Because women have not voted before, just how they will vote has been a subject of great interest. So, two local journalists decided to go and see what was happening in the villages.

The women of Sakib made it very clear that the social revolution that has produced women doctors and engineers and even a woman minister of information, in Amman has not yet reached their lives.

The point they emphasised was that their votes would go where their husbands chose, regardless of their own views or preferences. One woman spoke for all when she said "From any point of view, my husband's orders cannot be disobeyed, for without him I am nothing."

The women gave one example of a woman who had a brother running for office in the recent municipal elections. Her husband's relative was running for the same position and her husband was able to

persuade her to vote for his candidate with some threat of physical violence.

Isn't the ballot secret? the woman was illiterate so she had to declare her preference and there was no way it could be kept secret.

More serious than the threat of physical violence is that of divorce or a second wife. The social consequences of going against the husband's wishes are so drastic that their vote in an election just doesn't seem worth the risk.

The picture isn't all black. The Sakib women quoted another case of a woman whose father tried to force her to vote for his candidate. She agreed and went with him to the polls, but she was literate and, when it came to casting of the ballot, she voted for her own choice in the secret ballot.

How can the situation be changed? The government has been encouraging women, urban and rural, to make use of their political rights. But it realises that changes such as these don't come from above but from the grassroots and the process must begin at the lowest level.

One approach is via the establishment of community centres. The

Ministry of Social Development has been trying to set them up, and is now asking for volunteer help to speed its progress.

Many centres lack trained staff and money to pay staff and provide adequate equipment. Ideally the centres should be a place where men and women can learn income generating skills and are taught modern approaches to health, child care, home economics, etc. They should also be a centre for children while their mothers study, or work and should offer the chance of constructive play.

Simple and reasonable as all this seems, centres often have problems just convincing the men to allow the women to attend.

For the centres, in their own quiet way, are quite revolutionary. They are the first step for many women away from their traditional role as wives and mothers belonging strictly to their husband's house the centres give them a chance to become economically active members of the wider society.

And while at the centres they are not likely to hear any talk of women's rights and liberation, they may well be offered the chance to join literacy classes. And literate women can use the secret ballot.

APPOINTMENT OF LAYLA SHARAF PRAISED

Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 25 Feb 84 p 5

[Article by Marwan Muasher: "Are Jordanians Being Educated Politically?"]

[Text]

THERE HAVE been many conclusions drawn already from the restoration of parliamentary life in Jordan, as well as the appointment of a new government. Each has detected what appealed most to his or her thinking, and overlooked what he/she did not want to see. To me, I choose to believe that one of the outstanding differences that I have detected, and rejoiced for, between the new and old governments is the appointment of Mrs. Layla Sharaf as Minister of Information. My reasons for rejoicing are threefold. First, Mrs. Sharaf has quickly built a reputation over the last few years as a defender of personal rights, a believer in true representation, and a competent person. Second, the position she holds now is a very sensitive one in Jordanian politics. Her energetic person and open views will therefore no doubt leave a positive mark on the Jordanian society. Third, it is only fitting that this important position is awarded to a woman, who is one of the best qualified to occupy it regardless of

sex, and who represents a sector of our society that is at a disadvantage, and in dire need for such a voice to bring attention to its rights, grievances, and abilities.

I do not know Mrs. Sharaf personally. However, her frequent, frank interviews in the press before her appointment as minister made me sense she has something different and special to contribute. I am not writing today, however, to pay lip service to our new minister. True, I write today as a friend, a sympathiser who shares many of Mrs. Sharaf's beliefs and ideals. I also write as a citizen, who still has a lot of unanswered questions in his mind, and as a journalist, who is ever concerned with the right to voice his opinion freely.

I was prompted to write this article by Mrs. Sharaf's statements which appeared in the course of an interview with the Jordan Times (Sunday, Jan. 29, 1984) in which the minister touched upon many important issues of great concern to the Jordanian citizen.

does have a responsibility in this regard, is it fair to ask what steps are being taken in this direction? Is not the education system as well as policy dictated by the government? Are there plans to modify that system, not only in

The minister pointed out, quite correctly I think, that "democratic life requires much more than restoring parliamentary life". Democracy, she added, "should start at schools and basic educational institutions...". She was of the belief that Jordanians are not yet ready for full democracy, and that such a feat requires time. I could not agree more with what she said. But I also cannot help but ask the following questions. Thirty years ago, we were not ready for democracy. Today, we are told, and truly so, we are not ready for democracy. Unless something serious is done about it, our government in 2014 might also tell us, and truly so, that we are not ready for democracy. In other words, democracy is no doubt an evolutionary process, but is it not, at least partly so, the duty of those in government now, of the educated now, of the elite of our society now, to make sure that a democratic system does start at schools now so that 30 years from now we will be ready for democracy? And if we assume that the government

the kind of information given, but also in the way it is given such that students are encouraged to express their views independently as well as respect other views? Is the government encouraging public clubs, where matters are discussed "with an absolute freedom of thought"?

Full democracy could very well spell disaster for Jordan now, but what we as laymen are hoping for is for people like Mrs. Sharaf, who are conscientious and in a position of power, to initiate such programmes. Democracy, in an atmosphere that is conducive to the pursuit, if not full attainment, of ideals such as free dialogue, can no doubt be accelerated, and Jordanians brought to be politically mature in a shorter period of time than otherwise.

The current Jordanian Journalists law, empowering the government to revoke the licence of any newspaper without giving reasons, is a case in point. As a citizen, and a journalist, I cannot but be disturbed by the implications of such a law. If there is to be "mutual respect for each other's opinion", then why cannot a journalist voice his opinion freely? And who is to decide when a journalist behaves "irresponsibly", in the absence of any laws defining this irresponsibility? To put forth a question to Mrs. Sharaf, can we expect in the future that if the government thinks the press has behaved "irresponsibly", that the matter be settled in court, where each side has a chance of presenting their case?

While on the subject of parliamentary life and democracy, I would like to make another point, even though it does not deal directly with the minister's statements. It is kind of a sobering thought that the return to parliamentary life came as a nec-

essary action to avoid more deterioration in the political institutions. Many have pointed out that due to the old age of the deputies, the re-convening of the parliament assured a quorum for amending the constitution that might not be there few years down the line. I would like to think more along the lines that the restoration of parliamentary life was meant as a positive step to allow people a larger share in governing themselves rather than due to some technicalities. I will not complain, however. The fact that we do have a parliament, one that is a long way from being perfect, but one nevertheless, is a positive sign.

We have not been accustomed to such frankness as disclosed by the new minister. We hope, therefore, that we can be equally frank in presenting our points of view. Jordan is no doubt "threatened by external dangers". But it is equally true that Jordan also has a lot of citizens who want to contribute and are contributing diligently to its growth. I hope

that where differences of opinion occur, such citizens are not labelled "irresponsible", that there is room for different ideas.

I hope one of the functions of this and all next governments is to embark upon a programme that has as its aim the political education of people so that one day we can no longer say we are not ready for democracy. I forward these thoughts to the new minister, who I believe has an open mind to different ideas, and who, many believe, brought new energy to her job by her "individual style".

Few months ago, I wrote an article about possible election issues in Jordan, in which I wondered how many men are receptive to the idea of a woman representing them. Little did I know that with the minister of information being in charge of all the media in Jordan, a woman would become technically, if indirectly, my boss. How does this particular man feel about it? Mighty proud.

PHOSPHATE SALES TO WEST GERMANY PROPOSED

Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 27 Feb 84 p 3

[Text]

BONN (Petra) — The Arab-West German Friendship Society organised a meeting here Friday to promote the marketing of Jordan's phosphates in Europe.

Addressing the meeting was Jordan's ambassador to West Germany Sharif Fawwaz Sharaf who said that relations between West Germany and Jordan have been growing steadily and continuously in a variety of fields.

His Majesty King Hussein's visits to Germany was instrumental in promoting Jordan's economic, cultural, political and social relations with West Germany, Sharif Fawwaz said.

The King, government and people of Jordan appreciate West Germany's economic aid which has helped Jordan to develop in various fields, Sharif Fawwaz said.

West Germany, he said, has helped Jordan in particular to develop its railway system, the Jordan Valley and the port of Aqaba.

West Germany's exports to Jordan have totalled DM 1,000 million so far but West German imports of Jordanian products fall way below the level of exports, Sharif Fawwaz said.

He said that both German and Jordanian governments are seeking to increase their exports and Jordan is keen to market Jordanian phosphates in Germany.

The meeting, he explained, was designed to discuss the subject of West German imports of Jordanian phosphates, Sharif Fawwaz added.

At the meeting, which was attended by Jordanian and West German businessmen and economists, the director of the Jordan Phosphates Mines Company, Mr. Wasef Azar, made a speech in which he referred to the importance of phosphates to Jordan's national economy.

It is hoped that West German imports of Jordanian phosphates

will help to adjust the balance of trade between the two countries, he said.

This year Jordan plans to produce nearly six million tonnes of phosphates and therefore is keen to find new markets particularly in West Germany and Western European countries, he said.

These countries import nearly 22 million tonnes of phosphates annually and Jordan hopes to sell them nearly seven per cent of their needs, Mr. Azar said.

Jordanian phosphates are of a very high quality and this enables the substance to be easily used by many European industries, Mr. Azar pointed out.

He also said that the Jordanian government gives priority to companies bidding to carry out projects in Jordan if they pledge to buy or market Jordanian phosphates.

The Jordanian News Agency, Petra, has learnt that West German factories are planning to import at least 30,000 tonnes of Jordanian phosphates this year on an experimental basis.

BRIEFS

PHOSPHATES TO ITALY--AMMAN (Petra)--Jordan Phosphates Mines Company (JPMC) Director-General Wasef Azar has signed two contracts with Italian companies under which they will purchase 70,000 tonnes of Jordanian phosphates in 1984, according to the Jordanian News Agency, Petra. The contracts were concluded during a visit to Europe by Mr. Azar, who returned here Sunday, which took in the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. Marketing the Jordanian phosphates in the GDR was also among the subjects Mr. Azar discussed with a number of its companies, Petra added. Mr. Azar said that he took part in the seminar which was organised by the Arab-West German Friendship Society, where he outlined JPMC's marketing policy, the characteristics of Jordanian phosphates, and the potential for using it in German industries. Mr. Azar also pointed out that the Jordanian government gives priority in awarding contracts to companies which assist in marketing Jordanian phosphates in their countries, provided that the quality of the work to be implemented is good and prices offered are competitive. The seminar, Mr. Azar further added, affirmed the new policy of Jordan in the area of trade which, he said, is based on both importing and exporting, and which seeks to reduce Jordan's chronic balance of trade deficit. [Text] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 28 Feb 84 p 3]

FERTILIZER TO CHINA--AMMAN (Petra)--The Jordan Fertilisers Industry Company (JFIC) has signed an agreement with the Chinese Chemical Export and Import Corporation (Sinochin), under which the JFIC will sell the Chinese company 55,000 tonnes of diammonium phosphate fertiliser to be packed in bags and shipped during April and May. The signing of the agreement took place during a visit to a JFIC delegation to the People's Republic of China last week. JFIC director-general, Dr. Mahmoud Mardi, said that this agreement is the fourth such contract signed with Sinochin since production started at the Jordanian fertilisers complex in Aqaba in June 1982. The last agreement for the sale of 50,000 tonnes of fertiliser was signed in June of last year. JFIC shipped 20,000 tonnes of this amount at the end of last year and will ship the remaining quantity next month. [Text] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 28 Feb 84 p 3]

CSO: 4400/209

EXPANDING FRENCH ROLE IN LEBANON SEEN

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 48, 10 Mar 84 p 18

[Article by Joseph al-Qusayfi]

[Excerpts] Anyone following the course of the crisis in Lebanon can easily discern the intensifying French role in Lebanon, both politically and militarily. The following are among the indications of this role:

1. French diplomatic and military openness toward the political and spiritual leaders representing all factions in the hope of building good relations with them.

2. This same diplomat continued on to say that, contrary to the belief of some, France has enjoyed good relations with the Druze sect. "We do not forget that Mrs Nazirah Junblatt, mother of the late Kamal and grandmother of Walid, was one of the most prominent supporters of our policies in Lebanon, that the Junblatts have never forsaken us even at the most delicate and decisive moments, and that until 1943, the Junblatts were one of the few Lebanese families who stood by president Emil Iddih in support of our policies in confronting those calling for independence.

He explained further that French diplomacy neither denies nor abandons its friends even if it accords them special treatment. Political considerations and military and moral weights have priority in its concerns. As for those for whom nothing has remained of political clout except for webs from the past linking them with France, our relations with them remain within the bounds of diplomacy and humanity.

3. Another French diplomat responded to criticism raised by several political leaders on the praise with which President Francois Mitterrand singled out lawyer Nabih Birri, leader of the Amal Movement, and to the visit which an official of the French Socialist Party paid him a few days ago. He said that French policy intends to extend bridges to reach out to all factions in Lebanon. The purpose of this openness toward Nabih Birri is to strengthen the element of moderation within the Shi'i sect and to dry up the radical trends, thereby serving the future of a unified and homogeneous Lebanon. France, with this openness, would be playing a winning card with the Shi'a as it is counting on utilizing this card in favor of a political and security initiative which it is coordinating with its western allies and with moderate Arab countries.

These reasons altogether qualify France to play a fundamental role in solving the Lebanese dilemma. Its historical and objective ties with all parties will put its mission on a course through more unstanding and responsible conditions than if the United States were undertaking this mission.

An indication of no less significance to the role France would be playing can be seen through the departure of all units working within the multinational force except for the French contingent. The Lebanese officers who maintain contact with the officers and members of this contingent speak of them as the most serious and organized members of the force. They are responsive to all the plans being drawn up and they implement them well. Also, the fortifications and reinforcements they are currently undertaking give the impression that they are staying. The degree of readiness in their ranks ascertains that they are at the highest state of readiness to respond to any aggression.

It would seem, through these two indications, that France aims at taking on two roles soon: political, in the role of authority, and military, on the level of deterrence in order to impose peace.

In addition, France is seeking to elicit international cover for its upcoming role in Lebanon through a proposal it has submitted to the UN Security Council to dispatch United Nations Interim Forces to Beirut and its suburbs to supervise the ceasefire.

Whether the French proposal succeeds as is, or is modified, or does not succeed, the government of President Mitterrand is determined to complete its role in Lebanon either through the United Nations or not. For that, it is coordinating its movement in the Security Council with the United States, and it is insisting on the participation of Senegal in any international force set for Lebanon. As is known, Senegal is the "France of Africa," and it had earlier participated in missions in Lebanon during the mandate when it constituted the French mandate troops. It is currently participating in the UN Emergency forces in Southern Lebanon.

While the United States focuses its attention on the presidential elections, it is ignoring the cultural struggle which has been culminating for years in Lebanon between the "francophone" and the "anglophone" institutions. It has urged the American cultural institutions to coordinate with their French counterparts to set up a system of cultural cooperation and has emphasized to them not to arouse the reservations of the French who consider that the "American cultural conquest" was directed at their deep-rooted cultural presence in Lebanon, which the French regard as the link between the East and the West.

A Soviet diplomat in Beirut has confirmed the return of the French into Lebanon through the American window. He accused Paris of plotting to remain for a long time by way of the proposal submitted to the United Nations on the assumption it would be vetoed by the two giants, the United States and the Soviet Union, with the American veto of course, having been agreed to in advance.

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LAUSANNE CONFERENCE PROPOSALS FOR SOLUTION ASSESSED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1428, 16 Mar 84 pp 12-17

[Article by Amin al-Saba'i: "One Eye on the Problem of the Constitution, and the Other on the Surprises in the Region"]

[Text] All the delegation heads who took part in the second session of the dialogue in Lausanne agreed on emphasizing the warnings of failure, or even partial settlements and their effects on the fate of the Lebanese and Lebanon.

At all the meetings held bilaterally or trilaterally by the leaders of the dialogue in Lausanne before the official sessions, everyone warned against losing this last opportunity presented by the Lausanne meeting. The hotel in which the meeting was held has witnessed positive conclusions to a number of the most important disputes and conflicts in the world, and this is borne witness to by photographs displayed by the hotel administration.

At a private meeting, attended by AL-HAWADITH, between former Prime Minister Rashid Karami and some members of the participating delegations, who met before the opening session, which was postponed to last Monday evening, Karami focused for a long time on what he saw as the artificial obstacles that could block the dialogue and reconciliation after the cancellation of the 17 May accord.

Before former Prime Minister Karami defined the negative factors, he broke with the custom followed in the colonnades of the Hotel Beau Rivage to say that he tended to be optimistic with regard to the possibility of attaining the beginning of the long-awaited solution.

He told those present the justifications for his optimism, and he said the same things to former Prime Minister Sa'ib Salam by telephone. In summation, he said that President Amin al-Jumayyil was primarily responsible for working out the desired resolution, since it was he who chose the way of the national and pan-Arab solution when he cancelled the 17 May accord after meeting with President Hafiz al-Asad. This was followed by the decision of the political office of the Phalange Party, in which the party affirmed its support for everything decided by the president of the republic. Thus, the ruler and the Phalange Party agreed with the majority of Lebanese on a common, joint choice. Only a small minority remained, whose positions and ties were well known. They leaned

toward rejected, failed alternatives and were betting on the enemies of salvation, Karami said.

Karami said, "I turn to this small group to say to its leaders that their bet has failed. Either they will abandon their choices, or they will confront a national decision that the legitimate authorities must apply in order to contain them and end their role. It is neither reasonable nor acceptable for a few individuals to control millions of Lebanese. Moreover, we reject allowing one sect or group, whatever one it might be, to impose its will on 17 sects that together make up Lebanon."

In reality, the framework in which former Prime Minister Rashid Karami placed the Lebanese problem was the only light that tried to dispel the darkness of pessimism, irritation, and the fear of failure and frustration.

From the very beginning, the features of two main problems emerged at the session of the conference and in its back rooms and corridors. The first was the problem of amending the constitution, which was the subject of the clash between those who insisted on amending it because they saw this as the ante-room of necessary, basic reform, and those who rejected the principle of placing a hand on the constitution.

The second problem consisted of determining how to remove the Lebanese problem from the currents of Arab disputes and Israeli maneuvering, which has been trying since the cancellation of the 17 May accord to block reconciliation and push Lebanon gradually toward partition, after stimulating and stirring up more destructive internal wars.

On the level of the first problem, it seemed clear since the first days of the Lausanne conference that each faction was eager to escalate its demands and conditions in front of the other factions, as part of a clear process of haggling and bartering well known to experts in the field of negotiations and talks between opponents.

Former President Camille Sham'un clearly represented the point of view of the faction that rejected the principle of touching the constitution under the pressure of exceptional circumstances and the equation of victor and vanquished.

Since his arrival in Lausanne, former President Sham'un placed the issue of reforming the constitution in writing within the equation for confronting the insistence on reform. He did so by insisting, as did those he represented, on calling for the cancellation of the well known Lebanese formula based on the foundations of the National Pact, which was approved in 1943.

In his insistence on this confrontation, former President Sham'un went so far as to draw up the text of a proposal that was printed in Lausanne last Monday evening in preparation for its submission as an independent proposal to the leaders of the dialogue.

In an exceptional move, the text of the draft proposal was allowed to reach the opposition leaders who were demanding constitutional reform.

In essence, the text said that a lot of talk had been heard lately about hegemony, party and factional control, the domination by one sect of others, and control over the destiny of the Lebanese people.

It also affirmed the bitter, costly lesson that all solutions and resolutions reached after armed conflict lead only to the imposition of a kind of truce. Such a truce might succeed in lasting for a few months or years, but it would collapse at the first test, at which point conflict would return to harvest Lebanese lives and property.

With regard to avoiding this chronic disaster, former President Sham'un's proposal had this to say, "We must adopt a new formula for coexistence that grants each sect, in the areas where its population is concentrated, fields of permanent stability and the right to administer its own affairs as it wishes, far from the other sects and within a federal system. Such a system will allow Lebanon to keep its form as a unified state, while providing each sect with the chance to live in the way that suits it, within a framework determined by the law."

Additional clarifications from former President Sham'un's circle reached the opposition leaders in their suites at Lausanne. The clarifications said, "If you insist on reforming the constitution now, by any means, we will insist on even more. That is, we will insist on throwing out the constitution, reorganizing Lebanon in geographical and human terms, and drawing up a different constitution along the federal lines we are suggesting. If you are satisfied with freezing the idea of constitutional reform, you will find that the Lebanese model contains many doors that can lead us to comprehensive reform, within reasonable limits."

The other faction insisting on constitutional reform as an introduction to general reform saw in the federal model a large stick designed to wreck the wheel of reconciliation before it could start rolling.

Mr Walid Junblatt, for example, considered the subject to be merely a maneuver aimed at buying time. He thought those behind it were hoping that local and regional changes would occur that would reshuffle the cards and change the equations existing on the ground.

In the consultations held in the back rooms and halls, Junblatt was of the opinion that reform of the constitution was the minimum reform demand that could be made following the disasters of the on-going war in Lebanon. He thought that if matters were not confronted with boldness and decisiveness, and if resort were made to solutions known in the past, Lebanon would be promised scores of future internal wars by its leaders.

Former Prime Minister Karami took on the job of drawing up the framework of the point of view demanding constitutional reform. Among the things he said in letters that were passed among the leaders of the dialogue in Geneva was that the constitution was not like the Gospels or the Koran. The Lebanese were not compelled to submit to its rulings, he said. He said it was in the interest of those opposed to reform to adopt the point of view of those

demanding it, since therein lay the beginning of their salvation from confusion.

Another important point he made was that a constitution drawn up in 1926 could not survive until 1984 without amendment. If the genius who composed it were alive today, he would be among those trying to get it reformed. Karami said that ideas, ways of life and living, logic, and understanding were all different today from what they had been in the past. He said that the things an 84-year-old man might say today could not convince the new generation that he spoke in their name.

Karami defended the point of view which demanded that the legitimate authorities nullify the role of the minority opposed to developing the Lebanese formula. He did so by saying that President al-Jumayyil had to lead this development on the basis of constitutional reforms or depend on the national will, which had proven its seriousness by resisting the Israelis in the south, until the army could be rebuilt on firm and balanced foundations and become capable of participating in building the country.

In reality, all this public arguing over proposed solutions seemed, in the colonnades of Lausanne, to obscure contradictory, differing intentions and aspirations for the future that did not promise much good. Rather, they could be considered rocky aspirations for the Lebanese, with a hint of difficult circumstances that might require a third, fourth, or even a 10th dialogue conference.

The second problem that emerged in Lebanon was that of the increasing linkage between the Lebanese crisis and what was happening in the region, beginning with Syria, Jordan, and the Gulf and ending with Israel.

A prominent Lebanese politician talked bluntly about this aspect at a session in Lausanne. He said, "I do not want to believe the information that has reached me concerning new bets made by some people. They are merely hoping that they can get out of confronting reality and determining the treatment necessary to save the situation by waiting for "changes" they have been told might occur in some corners of the region."

He also said, "Israel does not always turn to traditional military wars in order to achieve its objectives or frustrate a serious attempt like the proposal to save Lebanon, because it can turn to other kinds of wars that those conducted in the field."

He noted, "After all I have heard here, I am sure that Israel will launch, or, to be more precise, has launched since the cancellation of the 17 May accord a psychological war based on intensive information distributed right and left. Essentially, this information says that those who stand in the position of deception with regard to the 17 May accord should not hurry to offer concessions, because the story is not over, and important changes will sweep over some neighboring countries."

The Israelis, whose "guardian angels" were present in Switzerland, are basing their rumors on some changes that have occurred in Syria and on some promises issued by the ruling circles in Israel that say revenge for the 17 May agreement must come, sooner or later.

In the midst of these mine fields, the dialogue participants in Lausanne insisted on continuing to follow (the master) along the road of searching for salvation and exploiting the last available opportunity, as former Prime Minister Sa'ib Salam put it.

In this regard, former Prime Minister Karami said that he was cautious until the moment in which al-Jumayyil reached Lausanne. His caution then turned into tranquility. He seems to have been afraid of the possible success of attempts being made to close the roads to Lausanne, at least to dialogue participants.

The importance of the Syrian role emerged prominently here, as Syria played a crucial role in bringing different points of view together. This much was gleaned from information saying that Syria had decided to back the path of salvation after the 17 May accord was cancelled, lest it be drawn into confrontations that would serve only Israel's interest.

President Amin al-Jumayyil referred to this fact at the first session of the dialogue when he said, "My bilateral meeting with President al-Asad was dominated by an atmosphere of understanding and positive feeling and a high level of responsibility, frankness, and truthfulness. I have great confidence that he will throw all his weight behind helping Lebanon to reach the state of well-being and stability, especially under the critical circumstances being witnessed by the region. This will assure the interest of both countries and provide the means for achieving other Arab interests."

Thus, the late arrival of the vice president of the Syrian republic, Mr 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, to Lausanne on Monday night took on an exceptional character, because the assurance of his arrival, which originally was linked to Syrian interest in the formation of the government, permitted many pessimistic interpretations to be voice, saying that strange and worrisome things were happening in the region. According to these interpretations, the fact that Khaddam's arrival in Lausanne was postponed until Monday evening, might be the first negative indication bringing disappointment to the Lebanese.

Some were betting on Syria playing a distinguished role by bringing together divergent points of view on the thorny issues and realizing reconciliation, since it was Syria's recent position that caused everyone to stop talking about the demand for President Amin al-Jumayyil's resignation from the government.

While suggestions were being rejected on all sides, President Amin al-Jumayyil moved on Monday evening to put forward some thoughts meant to encourage rapprochement among the dialogue participants.

President al-Jumayyil thought it was impossible to say or believe that anyone in Lebanon was the victorious or the vanquished party. He thought that all had paid a high price, and that everyone who had been martyred, whether in fighting, in pursuit, or in bombardments, represented a loss for all Lebanese in this terrible era from which Lebanon has suffered and is still suffering.

President al-Jumayyil said there were certain priorities, the most important ones being a fundamental end to the state of war, the commitment to and imposition of a cease-fire, the confirmation of the agreement and the situation, progress toward the unification and liberation of Lebanon, the facilitation of mutual understanding concerning reform proposals via the development of the regulations, and the formation of a government of national unity and salvation that would bear the burdens and responsibilities called forth by the seriousness and danger of the period.

These platitudes in Lausanne were accompanied by a formula suggested by the president of the republic as a reform program open to discussion and amendment. In its most important clauses, it called for the establishment of a senate, the end of sectarianism in public employment, the drawing up of a modern nationality law, an end to the noting of one's sect in the personal identity card, punishment for those stirring up sectarian strife, the reform of the electoral law, expansion of the authority of the prime minister, named by the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, the establishment of a supreme court to try presidents and ministers, and the establishment of a constitutional council to monitor the constitutionality of laws and treaties and settle disputes arising from presidential and parliamentary elections.

However, the most important thing in the proposals by the president of the republic was his position on political decentralization projects and federalism, since he called for adoption of the principle of turning toward broad-ranging administrative decentralization within the framework of orientation toward strong political centralism that would organize the situation in the provinces, while observing the principle of sectarian coexistence.

It is difficult to anticipate events and results and draw up a definite framework for what the coming days and nights will bring.

However, there is no doubt that those who met in Geneva see themselves faced for the first time by capable elements, if they truly want to achieve the beginnings of salvation, now that the 17 May accord has been cancelled and the stage of the solution has begun.

As one of the European ambassadors sent by their countries to observe the activities of the Lausanne conference put it: "For the first time, the leaders in Lebanon are the beginning and the end of the problem, now that the road between Damascus and Beirut has been repaired and opened, while the Lebanese view of Israel's intentions in Lebanon and the region has been redefined. Therefore, the Lebanese themselves will bear primary responsibility for all the choices made by the dialogue, whether they are positive or negative."

We must still refer here to excessively optimistic Arab expectations, which have said that the Lausanne conference might be the first step on the road to the beginning of the end of the Lebanese crisis, and that American officials in particular understand very well what the meaning of this talk is, via their responsibility for what Israel does. According to these expectations, Lausanne might be a historic turning point with regard to the Lebanese formula, just as the National Pact of 1943 was the start of the well known independence formula.

Some still advise us not to insist on this kind of optimism. They point out that the factors behind the outbreak of the Lebanese war have not disappeared yet, and that those who began the war have not achieved the goals for which they started it. Moreover, they say that stopping at a station does not necessarily mean shortening the distance and arriving at the destination.

This is how it is in "East and West" Lausanne following the convening of the Swiss Lebanon conference. But what of the prologues in Beirut, which preceded the move to Switzerland?

These things must be related.

Following the cancellation of the 17 May agreement, a group of leaders taking part in the reconciliation and dialogue process began to put forth a group of formulas last week in a very quiet and concentrated manner. These formulas are intended to rebuild unified Lebanon on the basis of cantons or autonomous districts that would administer their own economic, security-related, cultural, and social affairs. They would be tied to the outlines of the general policy of the state via the central government in Beirut, which would have a different content, form, and competence.

These leaders placed their aforementioned proposals for cantons or districts on the discussion table during contacts made by all the Lebanese political currents before the national dialogue board headed for Switzerland in order to agree on the principles of reform and the foundations of the future structure of Lebanon.

In their public presentation of these proposals, they proceeded from quiet, political foundations far removed from violence. In this context, they repeated what those around them had been referring to for several years. For example, they said that the Lebanese structure affirmed and adopted at the start of the era of independence in 1943 should no longer be used, because its continuation only promised to bring more civil, sectarian wars between the sects that make up the structure of independence. This would happen each time an important political change took place in the region of the Middle East or internal factors arose that would cause this group or that to believe it could change the Lebanese equation in its own favor by force.

These persons also said that because of this constant imbalance, the Lebanese had been paying a high price since 1943 in terms of blood and stability. The entire Lebanese situation must be reexamined in order to redress the imbalance

and remove the causes of the explosion by adopting a canton model similar in most of its clauses to the Swiss experience.

Last week, while all attention was focused on the decision to abrogate the 17 May accord and the dialogue in Switzerland, those behind the canton proposals sent their suggestions in principle to some Islamic and party leaders in Beirut. They were accompanied by a call to take the subject as seriously as it deserved to be taken and to discuss its justifications quietly, far removed from factors of incitement and rejection on principle, so that it would be possible to discuss the issue and thereby work out the right formula, in which regard nomenclature would be less important than content and goal. In this way, the cup of using violence to impose any resolution of this type by force would be removed from Lebanon's lips, and its place would be taken by the principle of agreement via mutual satisfaction. These suggestions sprang from some proposals drawn up personally by legal experts who are members of a group of Lebanese parties, with the National Liberal Party and the Phalange Party in the vanguard.

There is some variety in these old proposals. Some suggest a picture of Lebanon as a politically decentralized country composed of cantons and autonomous states, while others are proposals for political partition.

One calls for turning Lebanon from one republic into two republics or two independent provinces, which would be coordinated by a central authority with limited powers based in Beirut. Each republic would have different rules in the areas of politics, economics, security, and social life. Each would enjoy the freedom to choose its allies and friends in the region and the world. The central authority in Beirut would have no right to interfere in or influence the kind of decisions taken by each republic.

The persons behind these proposals admit that they are accepting a lot of facts and given upon which these proposals are based. They say that Lebanon's bitter experiences have made it necessary to change some foundations and convictions. However, they have not nullified the principle on which the idea was based; rather, they have further developed the principle.

After the recent events, Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil has been looking at this kind of option. Professor Joseph Abu Khalil has followed his example by clarifying the idea, thereby affirming that the canton proposal has been seriously raised for discussion. Mr Fadi Ifram, the commander of the Lebanese Forces, has joined the march. He was followed by Lawyer Karim Baqraduni, who described this proposal in detail in an interview, "Partition is currently possible. This means that either Lebanon will collapse and be divided between Israel and Syria, or a new consciousness and new thinking will emerge among the Lebanese. In this case, a new Lebanese system will arise, based on the idea of a Lebanese federal republic in place of the current republic. It is no longer a question of choosing between returning to the 1943 pact, which is dead, and a federal union.

Indeed, the Lebanese must choose between a free, federal union and Israeli-Syrian partitioning of Lebanon. The cantons are not an outmoded idea. Most

of the world's republics are federal republics. They provide us with a positive solution."

Baqraduni also said that the Lebanese Forces had approved a three-point program whose second point called for the establishment of a federal republic. The most important thing about this clear proposal, which came out a few days before the second session of the dialogue in Switzerland, is that it shows the seriousness of the discussion that began a few months back concerning projects designed to achieve partition in different political forms.

As some leaders of the dialogue are wont to say, we have no choice but to stop and consider certain unofficial data that spoke about some of the texts of these proposals after the partial Israeli withdrawal from the mountain last year.

According to this information, which has been rendered interesting again by the renewed discussion of the canton proposals last week, a proposal exists, complete with a map, to partition Lebanon into four regions. Former Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan possesses a copy of the map. The first region would be the Maronite state, while the second would contain the Druze state. The third would be under Israeli occupation, while the fourth would belong to Syria.

Another proposal calls for turning Lebanon into a state composed of 13 districts. The center of one of them would be Beirut, which would be under the control of the central authority. Six districts would be given to the Islamic sects, and six others would go to the Christian sects.

A third program speaks about a partition concept that could end the Lebanese war, if it received general approval. Conceptually, it is similar to the structure of Switzerland, but with some changes.

The fourth project is the most dangerous one. It is based on an Israeli conception whose centerpiece is a joint canton to be shared by several sects. This canton would take in the south and the province of al-Kharrub. There would be a canton for the Druze sect and another for the Maronites, as well as a dense Shi'ite concentration in the Biqa' and a Sunni concentration in part of the north, with its center at the city of Tripoli.

Many politicians in Beirut admit the seriousness with which the discussion of the various canton and federalism proposals is being conducted this time. They say in their private councils that some sects have chosen this direction in the aftermath of the recent events that have swept over Lebanon, and that some sects consider it to be the only remaining solution, especially after the abrogation of the 17 May accord. The military measures taken independently of the legitimate authorities in the regions of these sects confirm this fact.

Before this sensitive issue, which has been rejected in principle by a large group of leaders, could reach the context of dialogue and reconciliation and hamper progress toward reform, those leaders who reject all forms

of partition and federalism undertook a serious attempt to contain this proposal and limit its negative aspects.

This subject was discussed with great objectivity and concentration by the foreign minister of France, Mr Claude Cheysson, during the official visit he made to Beirut last week.

The discussion held with the French minister was based on information that confirmed that President Mitterrand and some important officials and politicians in France and other Western European countries were currently discussing details that showed Lebanon had begun to turn in practical terms toward a new model characterized by partition. It is difficult to determine its final form today.

After familiarizing himself with the different points of view concerning the partition proposals, the French minister said, "We cannot imagine seeing Lebanon be partitioned into ministates or regions caught in internecine struggles. We know best of all the drawbacks this kind of choice has for a country like Lebanon. We also know the advantages and importance of unification and of strengthening international entities. Despite difficulties and impediments of language, history, and tradition, we have been trying to unify Europe for years, even if it happens only gradually. The creation of the European Common Market is nothing but a piece of practical evidence of our faith in this direction. Therefore, our view of Lebanon as a unified, stable, non-partitioned country compels us to continue trying to enable this friendly country to regain its stability and unity."

With regard to the discussion of this subject, former Prime Minister Taqi al-Din al-Sulh said that it was easier to try to strengthen the unity of Lebanon in terms of its land and people, despite all the difficulties and obstacles, than to turn mistakenly toward dealing with the Lebanese crisis by adopting the principles of partition, no matter how one dressed it up. In other words, one can say that partition is impossible and could not exist and survive, even if its supporters were able to impose it, because it goes against the logic of history, the future, and reality. On the other hand, unification is possible, though it is difficult under the current circumstances. The Lebanese alone can determine the fate and future of their country by realizing the danger involved in erring by making a bad choice and misinterpreting the situation.

In these continuing discussions, in which a group of experts on history and the environment are taking part, it has been said that those who are betting on the partition and canton programs are mistaken in their estimations and in their comparison of Lebanon's situation with that of countries whose systems and geographical organization are based on cantons and independent districts. In Switzerland, for example, several preexistent national cantons were gathered together into a single federal state, instead of the opposite happening. The United States of America was unified when the states of the south and those of the north were gathered together in a complete federal state, instead of the reverse.

The facts of history cannot accept data that say that a single, unified state, whose people are not divided by linguistic and historical barriers, shared a common destiny, and were affiliated to the surrounding environment, exploded inside and changed into independent cantons caught in internecine struggles.

Thus, these experts have said that partitioning Lebanon will not solve its problem. Rather, partition will make the problem more difficult and add to it still more serious complications. They say that those backing the idea of federal partition must be made to postpone the matter and adopt a long-term policy for reaching their goals without making use of solutions rejected by large groups of Lebanese. The experts say that the task of settling the discussion of this subject must be left to the new government, which can do so via a developed form of the idea of expanded administrative decentralization. The foundations of this idea were laid by the late President Fu'ad Shihab.

Those who reject the partition and federalism proposals have gone back to the demographic situation on which Lebanon rests and drawn from it more facts to support their position. In this regard, it has been said that it would be impossible for Lebanon to adopt the federal, sectarian model, because of the way the sects intertwine with each other in the various regions.

For example, no one could say that it is possible to set up a Druze canton in the regions of 'Alayh, the Shuf and Hasbayya, for despite the Druze majority in those regions, they contain a lot of villages and concentrations of population. These concentrations will spring back to life once the reasons that caused their inhabitants to move out and migrate are nullified, no matter how long it has been, especially since the subject of returning the refugees to their regions is considered one of the most important points of the solution being discussed in the national dialogue.

It is also impossible to set up a Maronite canton in the mountainous district next to 'Alayh and the Shuf, for despite the Maronite majority there, many villages and quarters belong to large Islamic concentrations.

No one can figure out how to set up a canton for the Sunni sect and gather its members, who are spread throughout Lebanon, into a single region. Neither does anyone know how to transport the Sunni families in Sayda', the south, the province of al-Kharrub, the mountains, the western Biqa', Ba'labakk, Tripoli, 'Akkar, and Beirut and give them their own piece of Lebanon.

According to the same equation, it is impossible to determine how to collect the shi'ite sect into a special canton and evict its population, cooperatively or by force, from Beirut, the suburbs, the mountains, the Biqa', the south, and the north.

Those who oppose the canton project respond to some historical examples in which federalism was imposed by saying, "What applies to one region or state does not apply to another region or state."

This response is used to answer a point of view that says that after the outbreak of fighting and conflict between Turkey and Greece in the aftermath of World War I, the joint islands or the islands that submitted to both states were crowded with people from both countries. The Greek islands contained tens of thousands of Turks, while the Turkish islands and regions contained tens of thousands of Greeks. In order to achieve the separation two nations at conflict with each other need in such a case, it was agreed with the mutual consent of both that a population exchange would occur. An intense human exchange operation was carried out by the two countries, and the separation needed for the completion of the authority and borders of each one was achieved.

However, what happened was an acceptable solution for two states in conflict. In a single, unified state like Lebanon, the matter is different. It is not considered acceptable to liken, compare, or discuss the modality of applying the same equation in the area of an exchange through migration between different regions, in order to establish the lineaments of sectarian cantons.

At the opening session of the first dialogue conference in Geneva, the president of the Swiss Federal Union gave an address in which he spoke about the areas of similarity between Lebanon and Switzerland. However, he said there were axioms in the concept of the formation of states that the Lebanese had to be aware of while drawing the future of their country. He said they should realize that what was considered successful in Switzerland might be neither applicable nor successful in Lebanon, and that constitutions cannot be exported and imported.

Thus, the file on federalism and cantons has been opened, and great fear exists that the contents of this file will turn into a new, explosive substance in the coming stages.

12224

CSO: 4404/371

GOVERNMENT TO PRESENT 1984-85 BUDGET

Budget Due in April

Dubayy KHALEEL TIMES in English 15 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

DOHA—The Qatar Government is to present its budget for fiscal 1984-85 on April 2, informed sources said here yesterday. It was expected that the budget would be around the same figure as that of last financial year,—QR3.8 billion.

Sources also expected the joint venture for exploiting natural gas reserves would be formed before the budget announcement. The joint venture for the first phase of the Liquefied Natural Gas project is to be formed between the Qatar General Petroleum Corporation (QGPC) and two multinationals, BP and CFP. Talks are currently on between the three partners."

Indications yesterday were that the budget was receiving final touches as of yesterday. If it is not ready by the end of the month, the second likely date of announcement is April 17. Another major project which awaits, and is likely to get the budgetary approval, is the power and desalina-

tion plant at Al Wusail.

Thanks to cuts in current expenditure, Qatar has actually ended up with a surplus during last year, 1983-84. Reports for the first half of the last financial year show that expenditure was only 63 per cent of the allocation. Figures for the second half might yield an equal or a higher surplus.

A few months ago the government had instructed the departments and ministries to reduce capital expenditure by 15 per cent. Total reduction in spending was estimated at 30 per cent. Figures for the first half show that the departments have done better than what was expected of them. Imports were also well down compared to 1982. There was a 20 per cent fall in imports during the first nine months of 1983.

Crude sales also brought some cheer to budgetary planners. It was originally expected that fall in oil revenues during 1983 would be 47 per cent, compared to 1982. Figures of crude sales for the first six months of 1983 showed only a 26 per cent fall.

New Public Works Allocations

Dubayy KHALEEL TIMES in English 20 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

DOHA—Locally-based contractors can look forward to new works worth about QR 800 million during 1984-85, Khaled Al Khater, Director of the Engineering Services Department in the Public Works Ministry said here yesterday.

mated allotment of QR 1.5 billion, about QR 700 million will be for works spilled over from last year. The rest will be for new works. Among the new works expected to be approved by the budget are the education ministry building in the West Bay, several road works, a naval base.

The education ministry building, a major project, will be out for tenders after the budget is announced. Mr Khater said a list of prequalified contractors would be prepared and tenders called from among those selected.

Mr Khater said his department had no outstanding bills. If there is an odd one yet to be paid, it should be settled before this week is out, as accounts will be closed by March 31.

Spill-over works from last year, include a QR 140 million women's hospital, a QR 110 million general post office, and several buildings for the navy and the air force. The new central prison, coming up off Salwa Road with a capacity for 6,000 inmates, is expected to cost nearly QR 45 million.

In an announcement measured to lift the gloom in the local market, Mr Khater said it was expected that the new budget, scheduled to be announced on April 2, would earmark QR 1.5 billion for public works. Usually, the public works forms the largest single chunk of the budget. In fiscal 1983-84, which ends this month, the public works budget stood at QR 1.7 billion.

Mr Khater however said that the final figures would be approved by the cabinet. It was reported earlier that the total budget for 1984-85 was likely to be retained around the present QR 3.9 billion.

Of the Public Works Ministry esti-

CSO: 4400/207

DUBAYY OIL EXPLORATION TO REACH NEW HIGH

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 13 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

OIL exploration activity in Dubai will reach a new high this year completely overshadowing the performance in 1983 which was a record year for exploration in the emirate.

This is on account of the potential of the Margham field following the discovery of oil there in mid-1982. The Dubai government has recognised the potential in this regard and facilitated the upsurge in exploration.

Between October 1982 and November 1983, His Highness Shaikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum, the Ruler of Dubai, granted seven new concessions for exploration bringing the total number of groups operating in the emirate to 10.

A report issued by the Dubai Petroleum Company (DPC) yesterday said new exploration wells are to be drilled by BP and the Taylor Woodrow and Lundin group. The report said that Arco is currently drilling an exploration well, some 10 kms to the north of its Margham field and will drill a further wild-cat later in the year.

DPC is currently testing the Beta-1 well which reached total depth a few weeks ago and is scheduled to drill a further prospect towards the end of 1984.

Sedco is currently testing its Mubarak-1 wild-cat which reached total depth at the turn of the year.

BP is to drill on shore Dubai, southwest of Jebel Ali port. Operations are currently under way to organise the drilling, which is expected to commence in about two months' time.

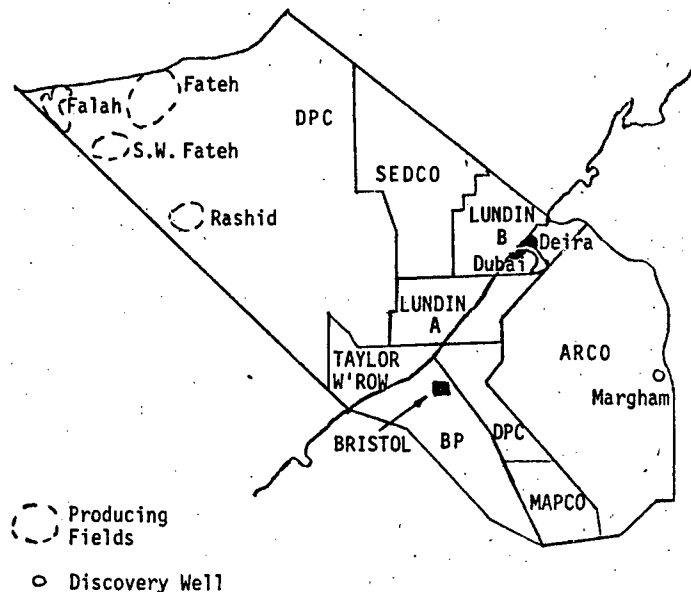
Prior to that, the Lundin Group, which has taken over an 80 per cent interest in the Bristol Oil (formerly called KCA) concession and become operator, is to spud a well onshore close to the old HOM-2 well to the south of Jebel Ali in

early April.

Taylor Woodrow is the third firm which has committed to drill in the Jebel Ali area, but in this case offshore. The group anticipates that drilling will commence in late summer.

On current commitments, therefore, over the period late 1983 to end 1984 a total of eight exploration wells will have been drilled in Dubai. Unofficially, it is believed that a further two wells could also be started by end 1984.—WAM

OUTLINE OF CURRENT DUBAI CONCESSIONS



CSO: 4400/207

TEHRAN REVIEWS HISTORY OF 'PLOTS AGAINST REPUBLIC'

GF280732 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0444 GMT 28 Mar 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Following the successful Val-Fajr operations, which were carried out by the warriors of Islam within the Iraqi soil--thus ringing the bell of Saddam's fall for the oppression--the enemy attempted a series of futile efforts at the international level in order to oppose the Islamic momentum. We now review these:

One of the techniques of international oppression to defeat the Islamic Revolution of Iran was the use of reactionary Arab countries carrying the name of Islam with them. This plot took form after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and reached its [word indistinct] during the imposed war.

This plot cloaked itself in the form of the conference of the so-called Islamic heads in Morocco last year. The aim of the United States was first, to bring a number of Arab reactionary leaders closer together and bring Egypt into the fold of Islamic countries, and second, to divert the attention of the Arab governments to Iran at the height of Lebanese war. Iran however, managed to further the Islamification of the movements of the region although in isolation, contrary to all plots and irrespective of the fact that there are no other countries with an Islamic system of similar nature to that of Iran. Thus, it continued the aim of struggle against Zionism and imperialism.

Another tactic of international oppression during last year was the dissemination of the idea that the Iran-Iraq war has changed into a forgotten battle of attrition. The reason for this was that the superpowers, in their false belief that they are controlling the war, decided to end this war!

Another plot of the oppression was the delivery of the Super-Etendards to Iraq, which began with a great deal of propaganda fanfare. The aim of this was to provide material aid to Saddam, while at the same time weakening of the morale of the Muslim Iranian nation. With the start of the Val-Fajr operations last year, the weakness of the Iraqi regime in bearing the heavy burden of the cost of the war and its innumerable economic problems created by the war became apparent. Its foreign reserves were also severely depleted by then and even

the reactionary Arab countries who were selling their oil at below OPEC prices and above OPEC quotas and supplying Iraq with aid were forced to cut their aid because of their own economic woes as a result of the drop in the price of oil. In the meantime, the regime ruling Iraq started efforts to increase the possibilities of more Iraqi oil exports. This is where the issue of the delivery of the Super-Etendard aircraft by the socialist-Zionist French regime to that of Saddam became clear. Following the delivery Iraq stated that it is not right for Iran to continue exporting its oil through the Persian Gulf while Iraq is not allowed to do the same and hence, it threatened Khark Island. The Islamic Republic of Iran in turn stressed that if Khark Island is attacked by Iraq to the extent that Iran is no longer able to export oil, then it will close the Strait of Hormuz and this as we know created a great deal of uproar in the Western circles.

Following the threat of Iraqi attacks against Iranian oil facilities in the Persian Gulf, our country announced that should any foreign power stop the Iranian oil exports, then Iran will endanger the vital interests of the West. However, the oppression, which is preparing long-term plans for the region, did not find any country in the region which would be able to attempt a war with the Islamic Republic here. The United States, which tasted the bitterness of defeat from its Vietnam experience, no longer wishes to directly involve itself with a new war in the Persian Gulf since now the people of the world are very conversant with the imperialist policies of the United States and any threat against the Islamic Republic of Iran would be seen as a threat against Islam and popular philosophy. These people who for centuries have given up all their possessions to maintain Islamic values and traditions doubtlessly would not leave a U.S. attack against Iran unanswered in the region either. Therefore, all U.S. strategic positions across the world would come under a very serious threat. This left one way open to the United States over the possibility of an attack against this vital world waterway. This is the participation of its military allies and this is why Weinberger, the U.S. defense secretary, stated that he has offered a suggestion to NATO members to prepare themselves for emergencies in the Persian Gulf.

The calling of NATO members to a joint operation in the region is another trick by the United States to increase its political-military influence in the Indian Ocean and the countries of the Far East. The bases of the United States in the region are located in Oman, Kenya, Somalia, and Diego Garcia. However, the United States is trying to open new footholds in some South Asian countries. Sri Lanka is to hand over a naval base to the United States in the future and the United States intends to station Pershing missiles in sensitive military areas of the Indian Ocean. As a result of the victories of the warriors of Islam in Val-Fajr and Khaybar operations, Saddam, who has found himself incapable of facing these warriors, has tried to extend the war into the Persian Gulf. However, like his previous threats this has remained just a threat. As we said, the losses of the expansion of the war into the oil regions of the Persian Gulf will be borne by Iraq and the international oppression and will aid the further strengthening and establishment of the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

IRAN

EMIGRE PAPER CLAIMS CHEMICAL WARFARE PROPAGANDA

NC041225 Paris IRAN-E AZAD in Persian 31 Mar 84 pp 4, 5

[Paris IRAN-E AZAD in Persian; weekly published by Azadeh Shafiq, daughter of Ashraf Pahlavi]

[Text] Last Monday a group of UN experts went to Iran to study the Islamic Republic's claim on the use of chemical weapons by Iraq in the war. This group submitted its report to the UN secretary general. The report, which was published in the UN headquarters in New York, states that signs of mustard gas and nerve gas were seen among the remnants of ammunition gathered from the war front. However, the experts state that because of a shortage of time they were unable to determine the extent of use of these weapons. In this report the Iraqi Government has not been clearly mentioned. Nevertheless, with the publication of the UN experts' report there remains no doubt that chemical weapons were used by Iraq. On the other hand, apparently the Islamic Republic--because of its vile nature--has exploited this issue and, in a bid to create a propaganda commotion, has sent to various countries a number of victims of other fire incidents (and possibly from the explosion at the Marvdasht chemical fertilizer plant) to pose as victims of chemical weapons. In addition to one of the patients who confessed in Switzerland that he had not been wounded in the war, doctors treating three patients who were sent by Khomeyni's propaganda machinery to France and who are hospitalized in St. Antoine hospital, stated in interviews with French correspondents that although the wounds on the bodies of these patients are apparently the result of contact with chemicals, nevertheless no major lung damage has been detected. Therefore, the assumption on the use of chemical gases, including mustard gas, cannot be made. According to reports, hirelings of the Islamic Republic's embassies in all the countries to which patients have been sent do not leave these patients' bedside even for a moment and by posing as translators they do not allow these patients to come in direct contact with correspondents and doctors.

CSO: 4640/183

GULF STATES URGED TO END SUPPORT FOR IRAQ

GF011424 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 8 Mar 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Off-time Remedies Spell Political Risks"]

[Text] With the heightening military operations of the Islamic forces of Iran in the battle fronts and notably the victorious Khaybar operations, there have been increased political and military shuttles by officials of the Western countries. Four days ago, Charles Hernu, the French defense minister, arrived in Kuwait heading a high-ranking military delegation. The French minister said that his visit to Kuwait was aimed at wrapping up plans for the sale of sophisticated weapons to Kuwait. The French minister also said he would review the latest developments in the Iran-Iraq war with Kuwait officials.

Meanwhile, Chedli Klibi, secretary of the Arab League was continuing his talks on the latest developments in the Iran-Iraq war with government officials of the Persian Gulf states.

The Persian Gulf littoral states immediately after the victories of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Khaybar operations, besides reviewing the possibilities for putting an end to Iran-Iraq war, tried to tighten up their own security through closer alignment. Ironically, all this comes at a time when most of the south Persian Gulf news media have been reported about Iraqi victories in the war. If the reports of the Persian Gulf news media regarding the Iraqi victories in the war is correct, then the apprehensions of the regional regimes over the trend of the war, are baseless.

This heightened tension among the Arab leaders, seems to manifest itself whenever the Ba'athist regime of Iraq is defeated by the extensive onslaughts of the Islamic forces of Iran. However, while the south Persian Gulf states are reporting Iraq's "great victories" in thwarting the Iranian attacks and anticipating their celebratory feast on the marine life of Hawr al-Hoveyzeh over Iranian corpses, their rulers should at least try to refrain from outwardly displaying signs of apprehension.

However, the fact is that the Persian Gulf littoral states are fully aware of the implications of the Val Fajr and Khaybar military operations by the Islamic forces of Iran. And they know that Iraq's defeat will result in a further extension of Islamic and revolutionary organs in the region. This is why, the regional countries are endeavoring on the one hand to increase their support to the Ba'athist regime of Iraq, and on the other hand to strengthen their ties with the West.

Thus, it seems that the Arab regimes of the Persian Gulf have no intentions at present to suppress the war. In fact, they are endeavoring to extend the war in both the political and military spheres, so that Iraq is not left alone against Iran and so that the regional conditions become so aggravated that removal of the aggressive Ba'athist regime of Iraq no longer remains Iran's priority.

From the point of view of the Arab regimes of the Persian Gulf, heightened regional tension and the Western threats regarding swift deployment, in the Persian Gulf, can limit the military goals of the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, it is clear for the West as well as the regional regimes that should the present artificial crisis be transformed into a direct encounter between the Islamic Republic and Western forces, it not only will not encourage the West and the regional reactionary regimes to support the Ba'athist regime of Iraq, but the rest of the West's strategic bases in the Persian Gulf, will be threatened. And this is something that the West as well as the Arab regimes of the Persian Gulf are afraid even to think of.

Therefore, the countries of the southern Persian Gulf should realize the facts. Global imperialism is endeavoring to involve the regional countries in the Iran-Iraq war and to tie their destinies to that of the Ba'athist regime of Iraq. The substantial financial aid given by the Arab regimes of the Persian Gulf to Iraq during the war makes it crystal clear that the Islamic Republic of Iran is capable of countering the present alignments. Therefore, if the present alignments between the regional nations and Iraq exceeds its previous limitations and moves toward a military alignment, then the collapse of the Ba'athist regime of Iraq will result in the collapse of all the regional regimes.

Thus, if the Arab regimes of the Persian Gulf are desirous of preserving their security, they should refrain from taking political risks. There remains much ground upon which the regional regimes can co-exist peacefully with the Islamic Republic of Iran after the collapse of the Ba'athist regime of Iraq. But any strengthening of present ties between the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf and Iraq, can nullify those grounds. And this is not something that the Islamic Republic of Iran wants at present.

Even if the regional regimes consider the collapse of the Ba'athist regime a threat to themselves, any further strengthening of their present ties with Iraq, considering the existing realities, is tactically imprudent. Presently, Iraq is manifestly a weakening power; and any remedial attempts are a waste of time.

If the regional regimes have doubts regarding these truths perhaps the next actions of the Islamic Republic of Iran, can clear the air and serve as testimony for them. Therefore, they must seek remedies in the aftermath of Saddam's collapse, and not before.

CSO: 4600/470

IRAN

IRP ORGAN SAYS WAR FIRST PRIORITY IN NEW YEAR

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 25 Mar 84 pp 1,12

[Text] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Praise God, every day that we get through is better than the last, and I hope that this year will be better than all the others.

From the Imam's New Year's day message [21 March, 1984].

The beginning days of the year 1363 [21 Mar 1984-20 Mar 1985] saw indescribable resistance, bravery, and zeal on the part of the combatants of Islam at the imposed war fronts, and the greatest possible strengthening of the important positions obtained during the victorious Operation Kheybar. This is a felicitous sign; Almighty God willing, in the new year the final victory of the Islamic liberation army will be achieved, and our combatants, shouting "God is Great," along with the Muslims of Iraq and other Muslims, will advance the fronts of the war with Zionism to the frontiers of occupied Palestine.

Our first priority in the new year is the war, and until the moment of the final victory over the enemies of Islam, no other issue may lay claim to being the Islamic Republic of Iran's first priority. The principal difference is that in the year 1363, because of the extremely good conditions that now exist at the fronts and behind the lines, because of the availability of all the necessary resources, equipment, and forces, and also because of the coordination in war planning, Almighty Munificent God willing, the final blows will be dealt to the collapsing Ba'thist regime ruling over Baghdad, and the balance of power in the Middle East will undergo striking changes to the detriment of the Satanic forces of East and West, and to the advantage of the nations of the area. Accordingly, just as the esteemed leader of the Islamic revolution said in his New Year's message in the first moments of the new year, even though every day that we get

through is better than the last, the new year will be better than all the others, and what will be achieved this year, God willing, will be preparation for greater successes in the future.

What is important in all this, and what gives distinction to the history of the Islamic Revolution from every point of view, is that the creators and managers of this revolution, the people and the officials, while working their way tooth and nail through many difficulties and obstacles under the most difficult wartime conditions, are also taking long and fateful strides in the various social, political, economic, industrial, and scientific areas with power and with the greatest speed possible. In one sense, last year was an important year of planning and basic law-making, and the new year is really a year for implementing these plans and laws. Just as was announced after the first meeting of the new year by the Council of Ministers, which was attended by the president, in the year 1363 [21 Mar 1984 20 Mar 1985] the government will make extensive popular agricultural investment possible.

This matter is actually the implementation of the worthwhile call for focusing on agriculture in Iran, especially since the year 1363 [21 Mar 1984 20 Mar 1985] is a year for looking at agriculture and promoting agricultural expansion. The president also stressed this in his New Year's message. He said: With the help of one another, and by profiting from, supporting, and protecting responsible organizations such as the Ministry of Agriculture, the Reconstruction Crusade, and other organizations, they must apply themselves and free us from the need of foreign food products.

In order that, God willing, the year 1363 [21 Mar 1984 20 Mar 1985] should witness striking successes from every point of view, there is a great need that executive officials and their collaborators take more decisive positions.

If this decisiveness and collaboration grows significantly, then the task of facing difficulties in all areas will definitely be easy. A revolutionary nation is accustomed to fighting difficulties tooth and nail, just as the president said during his New Year's visit with the military commanders: Our pride is not based on being able to say that we have no difficulties, our pride is based on our being able to say that we struggle with difficulties. Therefore, we must struggle more against difficulties, confront them more decisively, and eliminate them more quickly. On the same basis, it is expected of the judicial officials that they pursue the war against discrimination, negligence, extortion, gouging, and monopolies more diligently, and that they not give those problems which might be uprooted

forever any further opportunity to persist and grow. This task is feasible, and, God willing, it will be accomplished in 1363 [21 Mar 1984-20 Mar 1985].

Another important issue that we are facing in the new year is the elections for the second Majlis session. The elections, in view of their nearness in time, are now an issue of the day.

Preparations have now been made so that these elections may be held in the best possible way, and may go down in the history of the elections of the world as model elections. It is hoped that the nation's representatives chosen for the second session of the Majlis will be able to take long strides in advancing the sacred goals of the government of the Islamic republic, and that they will illuminate the new horizons that have opened in the new year before the Muslim and revolutionary nation of Iran.

9310

CSO: 4640/172

IMAM'S NEW YEAR MESSAGE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Mar 84 p 14

[Text] On the occasion of the New Year, Imam Khomeyni, the leader of the revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic, sent the following message:

In the Name of God the Compassionate and the Merciful

I ask Almighty God to make this year a blessed one--by the blessing of his holiness the Guardian of the Age, to whom this country belongs--for all the Muslims of the world, especially our beloved nation. May this great victory of Islam over heathenism and this holy war of our freedom fighters on the path of Islam be auspicious, God willing, and may this New Year be a happy one for everyone. Hopefully, Almighty God, with His special attention, will bring this nation more victory, as He has done thus far. And I hope that Almighty God will bless those martyrs who have given their lives in that victory and may this New Year be happy for the entire nation, especially the survivors of the martyrs, the wounded, the disabled and all their families, every one of the freedom fighters in whatever manner and from whatever strata, under the auspices of Almighty God and the generosity of the Guardian of the Age. Hopefully, this nation will attain what Almighty God has asked of it and remove the hands of the oppressors from this country. This New Year and this new day is a beginning for this nation soon to achieve what it wants, God willing, which is the will of Almighty God, and as it has so far advanced powerfully and stopped the hands of the oppressors, to continue to advance powerfully and to protect its country. We hope that Islam will set its flag over all the Muslims of the world and stop the hands of the oppressors in Islamic countries and give this nation success in its actions for His contentment. Of course, the holidays that Islam has established are interpreted differently by various experts and various groups of people. The interpretation of the spiritual people is different from that of others. After having undergone hardship during the

[fasting] month of Ramazan, the holiday is a day of meeting for them, the day that they meet God. Is meeting God for others and not for you [Arabic]? They consider everything to be for Him. They celebrate that day because after having undergone hardship, it is a day of entry to His Holiness. And the feast of sacrifices comes after having lost all their dear ones, yet, they are prepared for the meeting. That is, a meeting following their having killed their passion and given up all which is dear to them for God. That is when the day of meeting will be. On Fridays, with the gathering of Muslims, is when the spiritual people prepare to meet God. Therefore, their understanding of the holiday is different from ours. And we hope that, like God's chosen ones, we will also attain the manifestations of God and attain a jot of that understanding in our hearts.

We hope that our nation will undergo change in the same way that our young people have who have followed a path of a hundred years over night.

Thank God, a breeze of these issues is blowing in this country. Hence, our victories are not those solely of a 40-million nation which has nothing. These victories were brought to us by Islam and granted us by God Almighty.

Let anyone from the East or West say whatever they will. We have our own way and we hope that we will achieve our goal. Of course they are upset, for they have lost their interests in this country and are afraid that they will lose them in other countries as well. That is why they have engaged in conspiracies and will continue to do so in the future. Almighty God will neutralize these conspiracies, God willing, and I hope that under the auspicious blessings of his holiness, the Owner of Time, this country will become developed in terms of morality, religiousness, and spirituality, in everything, as well as in material things. Thank God, every day that passes is better than the day before for us. I hope that this year will be better than all previous ones and may God grant everyone success in valuing His gifts and knowing that everything belongs to Him. If everything is considered as belonging to Him, then you will be upset at nothing. Anxieties result from the human being seeing everything as belonging to himself. We are upset at losing our loved ones because we think of them as belonging to us. If we consider everything as belonging to God and see that they are gifts from God which God will take away, we will see that martyrs are God's guests. If we really comprehend these things in our hearts, then it will be a holiday for all those who have given martyrs; it will become a holiday for all those who have been wounded; and it will become a holiday for all those who have lost their dear ones for God. Because all these dear ones are God's, they all belong to Him. I hope that this feeling and faith will be evident and strengthen us.

I hope that these Muslims come to this realization.

You see that while Saddam has done what he did, committing that crime, they have condemned us.

Instead of condemning a person who drops chemical bombs on Muslims, on an Arab nation, on a non-Arab nation, on Iranians, and on everybody, the assemblies of the world say one thing and then suggest that it might not come from there--not that that is the case--and again condemn us. On the other hand, while the United Nations is pursuing this issue, they immediately condemn Iran for the violation of rights. This is a conspiracy to cover up for him. Later, they will either not tell or, if they do, they will conspire to cover up. But we rely on Almighty God and we hope that this coming year will be a most blessed year for this country and for Muslims and we hope that Almighty God will grant us success in serving Him. When we are at His service, we are not afraid of anything. We hope that this year will be a blessed one again for all the strata of the nation and all those who are under the auspices of the Islamic Republic and all the oppressed nations.

Peace and God's blessings and bounty upon you.

10,000

CSO: 4640/177

WOMEN'S DAY, IMAM'S BIRTHDAY OBSERVED THROUGHOUT COUNTRY

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 25 Mar 84 p 2

[Text] Simultaneous with the auspicious birthday of the great lady of Islam, her holiness Fatemeh al-Zahra, the revered daughter of the Prophet of Islam, and Women's Day, yesterday, millions of the Muslim women of our country who are present on the scene celebrated Women's Day in conjunction with the anniversary of the birth of the imam of the nation by participating in special magnificent gatherings held throughout our Islamic country this day.

Yesterday, the heroic Muslim women of Tehran, along with other Muslim women of our country, participated in a large march and gathered at the University of Tehran to celebrate the birthday of the great lady of Islam, Zahra, and to honor the exalted rank of women. The women of Tehran, yesterday, after the congregational noon and afternoon prayers in the various mosques of the city and in organized groups, while carrying large portraits of the imam of the nation and leader of the Islamic revolution of Iran, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri and other political and religious personalities as well as pictures of the martyr Bent ol-Hoda al-Sadr and martyrs of the Islamic revolution and the imposed war, shouted: "Happy celebrations today for the nation of Islam; it is the birthday of both Fatemeh and the imam," "The pure birthday of Zahra, the day of the women of Iran, is happy for all women" and "The birthday of Fatemeh, Women's Day: congratulations to all women." They passed through the main streets, gathered at the University of Tehran and participated in the ceremonies which were held at this place by the ceremony unit of the coordination council for Islamic propaganda. According to this report, in the ceremonies honoring Women's Day in Tehran, after reciting several verses of the Koran and a song by the young members of the mobilization unit of the Guards Corps, first a message was read by one of the Iraqi returnee sisters addressed to the women of the world and particularly the women's society of Iraq. In this message, after referring to the life of the revered daughter of the Prophet of Islam, which was all struggle, the role of Iranian

women in bringing the Islamic revolution to fruition was addressed. In this connection, it was said:

It was her holiness (Zahra) as a model for the brave, struggling Iranian women who enabled them to overthrow the monarchy along with the leadership of the imam of the nation, shoulder to shoulder with their Muslim brothers, and to advance the revolution to this stage. Also, in this message, referring to the life and struggles of the exalted martyr Bent ol-Hoda al-Sadr, who attained martyrdom along with her honorable brother, the martyred Ayatollah Mohammad Bager al-Sadr, at the hands of the tyrants of the Ba'thist regime, it was asked of the Iraqi Muslim women to take the Iranian woman and her struggles against the overthrown regime of monarchical tyranny as a model to overthrow the criminal Ba'thist regime of Saddam.

After the reading of the message of the Iraqi woman addressed to the women of the world, another was read from the honorable families of the Iranian martyrs in connection with Woman's Day. This message also, after a review of the role of the Iranian Muslim women in bringing the Islamic revolution to victory, stated: In this age and at this time, the Iranian woman has recognized herself in dealing with the enemy and as a blessing of the Islamic revolution and has realized that she can be on the scene everywhere, shoulder to shoulder with her brothers, by preserving religious standards and, along with the great duty and mission of motherhood in the society, they can also maintain an active presence. Now, the Iranian Muslim woman, by throwing away the trash and souvenirs of the West which had made of her a doll in the hands of demons, considers her perfection in carrying out God's instruction.

After the reading of this message and concluding the ceremonies, after the presence of the armed sisters who are members of the oppressed mobilization unit of the Guards Corps and who were present in organized lines after a magnificent march on the occasion of Woman's Day at the University of Tehran had added a special sight to these ceremonies, Sister Dastgheyb began her speech and in explaining certain parts of the fruitful life of her holiness Fatemeh Zahra, discussed the role of the Iranian Muslim women in bringing the Islamic revolution of Iran to victory, the preservation of its fruits and also the role of the struggling women of our country in securing the needs of the fronts of the battle of right against wrong and even their participation in the battle fronts.

The report of the correspondents indicates: Yesterday, the ceremonies honored the auspicious anniversary of the birthday of the great lady of Islam, Om al-Hasanayn, and Women's Day in the embassies of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the various capitals, especially in the Islamic countries, with special glory.

FEMALE PARLIAMENTARIAN DISCUSSES PLANS, WAR WITH IRAQ

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 23 Feb 84 pp 65, 66

[Excerpt] In a large square room with light green carpet, a large picture of Imam Khomeyni in the corner of the room, a green, orange, and white striped flag, a large desk with a picture drawn in pencil sitting between two small flags of the same color; I had the feeling that I had drifted away from Bangkok, as if I were in some building in Tehran, Iran.

For more than 3 hours I was in an air-conditioned room on the ninth floor of the Khian Nguon Building, the Iranian Embassy in Thailand.

A lady dressed in black to her heels with a veil the same color which revealed only her eyes behind glasses, a sharp nose and thick lips sitting on a chair-- she is the wife of the Iranian ambassador in Delhi, India who had followed her husband on a visit to Burma and spent 3 days in Bangkok last week as a guest of the Iranian ambassador to Thailand.

Her name is Mrs Gowhar Dastgheybi, one of the four female Parliamentarians in the Iranian Parliament after the revolution and one of the leading ladies of the country who is well known among people, students, and womens rights movement groups.

"For many years, Iran was under the oppression of the superpowers who dominated the economy and destroyed the culture." The 47 year old Parliamentarian spoke in the Persian language and the embassy interpreter translated into Thai.

"Our men and women are against the alien and the phony that would destroy our culture... Islamic culture was established on the basis of the Koran over 1,400 years ago and Islam entered into peoples lives in which men and women are not different."

Madame Dastgheybi thus defined "womens rights in Iran." But when questioned regarding the role of women parliamentarians, of which there are only 4 out of 270 MPs, the mother of 4 replied vaguely that there is no difference between men and women. Everyone behaves constitutionally. Able, qualified people have the right to reveal themselves to the people. If they demonstrate sincerity they should be elected. There are Iranian women from different zones

outside Tehran who have been candidates but didn't get the votes; the reason being that before the revolution a role for women was not accepted in society. Or, those women who used to work for the old government still have the old attitudes. This is considered incorrect. Some of the womens groups are new, unknown and not accepted by the public. Therefore the majority of political posts belong to men. This parliamentarian continues, "right after the revolution, there was an election. This was unlike some countries which take forever to hold elections. The term of an Iranian Parliamentarian is 4 years. For myself, I have 5 months left before my term ends. Presently the preparations for another election are underway. It is expected that within the next month a definite announcement will be made."

"I haven't made a decision yet whether I will campaign for this election. If the majority of people would like me to... I am getting older and feel like retiring from politics and switching to a teaching career since I taught for 27 years, but if the majority of people are supportive and wish me to continue I think I will join the campaign for this election."

"As for the role of female Parliamentarians, we delegate the responsibility by holding a meeting every 7 days. For myself, I am responsible for education, concentrating on analysis of educational data. This is not related to other groups. In our educational system the government makes it free to the public. This is clearly specified in constitutional law that the government must subsidize the public by not requiring any payment.

Therefore, after the revolution plenty of schools were built to accommodate approximately 10 million children. The mandatory education system starts at 6 years of age and goes from elementary to high school. All expenses for books and other educational materials are paid for by the government.

In Iran there are 175 colleges and universities altogether. Including Iranian students abroad there are 50,000 students. The government has paid special attention to single students by giving financial support of \$110 per month including board. Couples receive \$210 monthly. For those who want to be educated abroad, the government provides scholarships for this. Iranian women aim their goals toward education and teaching at universities. There is support for chemistry courses; the reason being women have had very low enrollment in this field in the past, as is the case in banking and government work, there has been an increasing number of women working lately.

Madame Dastgheybi has four children. The oldest girl is married and is having a baby. Her husband is a former university administrator who is preparing for a parliamentary campaign in Shiraz. The three boys: one, age 24, is in government; one is 22 and is a 2nd year engineering student, and the last is 18 and in senior high school.

The mother of four talks equally proudly about her children and the traditional dress of the Iranian women (it seems that the dress itself covers up practically everything except the eyes, nose, and mouth. It seems to limit freedom and is unfair to women and there have been frequently reports of protests by Arab women).

She emphasized that language and culture are a national symbol that holds society together and it will disappear if it is penetrated by the western world that tries to influence culture and ideas of the people and has tried to control us up till now.

At this point she asks with surprise as to why Thai women do not wear the national dress as do Iranian or Burmese women that she has seen on her Asian trip.

When she was advised that Thai women only wear national dress on special occasions, and that normally we act for the sake of convenience, she merely nodded her head, and was going to continue about the preservation of national symbols but was interrupted by other questions regarding the present Iranian political situation.

With a worried expression on her face she continued: "We have social problems created by war. While tanks came from England, Super-Etendard jets came from France, rockets from the Soviets, ideas and strategies from the United States, financial support came from Kuwait and the Arabs in order to continue war with Iraq. At the same time Iraq receives financial support from Saudi Arabia of at least \$5 million.

"But the Iranian people are not panicked by the war. Everyone understands the situation and is determined to protect the nation and there are a lot of young Iranian volunteers who fight and of course a lot of them will die to protect their country."

Although Madame Dastgheybi has not given a direct answer regarding the effects of the present Iranian war, the world believes that the nation is growing based on population increase (because Muslims do not allow birth control, families can have as many children as they want). However the war has taken young men's lives which are the most important resources for national development. At the same time natural resources, especially the most important resource "oil" has been utilized for destruction rather than creativity to the nation. The problems of homelessness, missing loved ones, families and orphans, are all created as a result of the protracted war. Both governments of the two nations must compromise to stop war. As long as both are stubborn in their ideology it will be extremely difficult to negotiate peace.

As a parliamentarian, Madame Dastgheybi said that in order to stop war one must accept two things: first one must accept that if one invades other countries it creates war, other nations must not get involved and of course war creates damage to society, destruction to the nation. Secondly one must compensate for the damage to our country, even for one tree that has been destroyed.

"As a Parliamentarian I have visited the war zone border area near Hoveyzeh and have seen the kind of damage. Even trees that have been destroyed and must be compensated for."

What she demands of the adversary clearly shows that if Iran does not receive compensation for the damage caused by Iraq, there will be revenge.

However, Iraq probably sees things the same way as Iran.

IRAN

MONTAZERI: 'EAST, WEST WANT TO SETTLE ACCOUNTS WITH ISLAM'

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 25 Mar 84 p 12

[Text] Last Friday a large group of refugees from the imposed war, who have been settled in more than 10 cities, met and spoke with Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri.

During this meeting, while explaining the issue of personal trials from the perspective of the Koran and the Traditions, he said that although the hardships of being driven from home and lodgment are no small thing, and whoever has not experienced them cannot fully understand their profundity, from another point of view this is a great trial through which God's people are tested, and through which they acquire patience and humility. According to the Koran, this includes praise, prayers, and the eternal mercy of God.

According to the Koran, untold and limitless rewards will be given to the patient by God.

In the same connection, he said to the war refugee brothers and sisters: Today you dear ones are being tested by the infidel Saddam, enemy of God and the people. Saddam's rockets, which are obtained from the Soviet Union and fired at your cities by Russian specialists, are the instruments for your testing. He added: Although I agree that your rights have not been respected in accordance with what you deserve in your position, you must take care not to diminish your reward from God. Although the government has hastened to your aid, with the help of our sacrificing people, and although it must see to your situation and your problems more than before, if you feel deficiencies, you must tolerate them, and defer them to God and your spiritual reward.

His Holiness Ayatollah Montazeri emphasized: All of us and you are enamored of that great Imam, who said with firmness and solid faith when his life, his wife, his children, and his friends and companions had all been sacrificed to the path of God: Oh God, I am content to endure all that comes upon me for your sake.

We also, who have the honor of following that man, must patiently endure divine difficulties and tests. We all know that this war, from the first day until now, has been imposed upon our nation and government. We had no war with anyone. It was Saddam who occupied our cities, and who wanted to come all the way to Tehran and Tabriz. The East and the West, who have been slapped by Islam and felt the threat of danger, strengthened Saddam and assaulted Islam and our nation. They want to settle accounts with Islam. Saddam is not a person who can cause all this calamity and suffering by himself. Whatever we experience on this path will be for Islam and God, and we must tolerate and endure for God. Concerning the people's sympathy for the dear war refugee brothers and sisters, he said: If a war refugee should happen to do something wrong, the people must not blame it on all the other dear war refugee brothers and sisters, and they must not react illogically. This type of encounter is erroneous, and it can never be Islamic. There are all kinds of good and bad individuals in every class and group; we must appreciate this dear class of people who have been made refugees in the path of God, and we must sympathize with them as much as possible.

According to the same report, Hojjat ol-Eslam Shahrokhi, Majlis representative for the people of Khorramabad, met and spoke with His Holiness Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri.

9310

CSO: 4640/174

IRAN

DEPARTING PAKISTANI ENVOY DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH IRAN

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Mar 84 p 3

[Text] 'Abd al-Malik Khotak, Pakistan's ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Iran, whose tour of duty in Iran will soon be ending, discussed relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan in an interview with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY on the occasion of Pakistani Independence Day, and he said that those relations are good.

The ambassador, who has been Pakistan's ambassador to Iran for two years, noted the cooperation and historical relations between Iran and Pakistan in the interview. He said:

There has never been any discord between Iran and Pakistan, because the common basic face of these two countries is the tradition of Islam. The Pakistanis are so tied to Iran that even though the basic language of the Indian Peninsula is Urdu, the lyrics of the Pakistani national anthem are in Persian.

He also said: After the Islamic revolution in Iran, Pakistan was the first country to officially recognize the revolutionary government of Iran, and since the Islamic revolution of Iran, political, cultural, commercial, and economic relations between the two countries have progressed admirably.

'Abd al-Malik Khotak then referred to bi-lateral contacts between the two countries during the past two years. He regarded these contacts as an indication of the existence of a spirit of mutual understanding between the two countries. Concerning the regional pact, he said: Since last year, three countries, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey, have succeeded in maintaining a permanent trilateral commission at the ministerial level. Of course, this has its beginnings in the fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran felt it necessary to have more extensive relations with neighboring and Muslim countries. We also believe that this pact is in the interest of the people of the three countries, and that it will progress. Regional cooperation between Muslims is itself a basis for complete Muslim unity, and this is a way through which the

society of Islamic countries may rely on themselves, and not others. We have also always supported the proposal by the Islamic Republic of Iran to create an Islamic common market.

Concerning the political and social changes of the past two years in Iran, he said: During the two years that I have been in Iran, Iran has made much progress in foreign economic policy and social affairs, and during this period it has made many friends among the non-aligned Muslim countries and in the Third World.

The Pakistani Ambassador in the Islamic Republic of Iran commented on his sovereign country's position on the Afghanistan issue. He said: Our position concerning this issue is similar to the Islamic Republic of Iran's position, and concerning this we have no differences of opinion.

Concerning Iraq's imposed war against Iran, he said: Pakistan has opposed this war from the beginning, and Pakistani officials have missed no opportunity to try to bring about an end to the war.

He then expressed the hope that this war would end honorably, but he did not directly condemn the use of chemical weapons in the war.

In conclusion, the Pakistani ambassador thanked the Muslim people of Iran for their hospitality throughout his tour of duty. He said: During this period, every door has been open to me, and I thank all the officials and people of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

9310

CSO: 4640/176

FM VELAYATI TALKS ABOUT VISITS TO ALGERIA, ROMANIA

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 25 Mar 84 p 14

[Interview with Foreign Minister Velayati; interviewer, date and place not specified]

[Text] On his return from a visit to Algeria and Romania, the foreign minister of our country enumerated in an interview the common historical and social ties between Iran and Algeria and said: These two countries carry significant weight and prestige in the non-aligned movement.

Dr Velayati first pointed to the struggling and revolutionary history of Iran and Algeria and said:

Iran and Algeria are both countries whose revolutions have stemmed from Islam. It was the Algerian people's profound faith in Islam which resulted in the liberation of their country, with a population of 8 million, from the evil of French colonialism. The Muslim people of Iran as well, also through their belief in Islam, were able to attain victory and free themselves from the evil of colonialism. Hence, among the important features the two countries have in common are Islam, their revolutionary nature and the fact that both countries belong to the Third World.

He then concluded: The favorable grounds for relations between the two countries will provide us with overall cooperation in the Islamic world, the Third World and Africa.

With regard to the talks and negotiations between ourselves and the Algerian authorities, the minister of foreign affairs said: Like Iran, Algeria is one of the opponents of the infamous Camp David accords and its current process, that is, the expansion of this conspiracy by the reactionary regimes of the region.

Then, concerning the future of economic and cultural relations between Iran and Algeria, Dr Velayati provided some details. Then, in regards to the talks which took place concerning the Algerian communique, he said: Some problems have occurred in the

implementation of the communique, including the violations of the United States and the arbitration committee at the Hague, which have not followed the relevant standards in some cases. Hence, one of the bases of our talks with our Algerian brothers was the issue of the Algerian communique and our request to Algeria to take steps to eliminate these violations and correctly implement the content of the communique. The Algerian brothers gave a favorable promise and certain preliminaries were discussed.

He then referred to the negotiations concerning the problems of the region and the Persian Gulf with the Algerian authorities and recounted the positions of Iran in these discussions. On the whole, he described our negotiations with the Algerian brothers as very fruitful.

Then, concerning the results of the visit to Romania, Dr Velayati said: Our relations with Romania have expanded since the victory of the Islamic revolution. Romania ranks first in trade with Iran among the Eastern bloc countries. The volume of commercial transactions between us is about \$1 billion annually.

In another part of the interview, he said: In our negotiations in Romania, the expansion of economic relations, increasing the variety of Iranian exports to Romania, non-petroleum exports and non-industrial cooperation were studied. Our foreign minister pointed to his talks with Ceausescu and other Romanian authorities concerning the role of the superpowers in enslaving the Third World countries; the issue of disarmament and the arms race; the deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe; the problems of the Middle East, Lebanon and Palestine; and the imposed war.

In this interview, Dr Velayati said in regards to the use of chemical weapons by the regime of Iraq: The use of chemical weapons by the regime of Iraq is so despicable that even the great supporters of Iraq have been forced to condemn it. Of course, with the help of God and the efforts of the officials in the international assemblies and throughout the world, effective measures have been taken to expose such a crime and this has been an important political success for the regime of the Islamic Republic, for it has been able to expose the true face of the military regime of Iraq to the world.

In the end, the foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran said concerning the conference of Arab foreign ministers in Baghdad: The same people in the region who encouraged Saddam to invade the Islamic Republic of Iran were the operators and center of the recent conference. They first tried to infuse new life to Saddam by inviting the Arab foreign ministers to Baghdad. But, fortunately, the revolutionary and progressive foreign ministers of the Arab society responded negatively to this invitation and from the very beginning brought despair to those who extended the

invitation to this gathering. The conference of the foreign ministers of some of the Arab countries was a futile political effort in support of Saddam and to save him from certain downfall. But, as expected, it was of no use to Saddam and his supporters.

10,000

CSO: 4640/173

EXPANSION IN TRADE WITH EEC URGED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 29 Feb 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Trade With EEC"]

[Text] The news that Pakistan has successfully negotiated a trade pact with EEC has again brought into focus the handicap from which our exports have suffered. While it is gratifying to note that EEC is willing and ready to help Pakistan in developing its exports, the fact that we happen to be running an annual trade deficit of 630 million dollars with the European community needs to be taken seriously. The matter is all the more important because our imports from EEC, as of now, are 20 percent of our total imports and exports, 17 percent of our total exports, making EEC our largest trading partner. Since 1976 when a pattern of trade with EEC began to emerge and Pakistan started to extend the range of its exports from simple agricultural commodities like cotton and rice (or relatively simple products like cotton yarn) to textiles, leather goods and even simpler engineering products, the need for an integrated approach to each area of trade has been recognised by both sides.

The main difficulty in expanding our exports, it would seem, is not so much of trade barriers or tariffs, but of making our products qualitatively acceptable in a market which is used to a high degree of sophistication in its consumer goods. Our textiles luckily are in a comparatively better position to compete but in many other areas we have still a lot of ground to cover. Better designing and workmanship of leather goods, for example, can easily place us among the leading exporters of leather goods. But both in tanning and making of the leather articles, we need expert advice from abroad. The same is the case of designing of jewellery and cutting and polishing of precious stones which incidentally have already been included in the trade pact as items of export from Pakistan. The case of engineering goods is a bit more complex. For, here it is not so much the case of raw material being available which in the case of leather and precious stones does give us an edge but a question of proficiency and know-how in a field in which the Europeans happen to be far ahead. The only thing which goes in our favour is relatively cheap and hard working labour. The solution to all these problems lies in the development of the Karachi Export Processing Zone. It is there that both foreign expertise can come and build a solid base for our future exports. EEC has already expressed its willingness to help Pakistan in finding both the money and the expert. In fact EEC intends to set up a permanent office at Islamabad just for that. It is now for us to grab the opportunity and capture the markets, which are there waiting to be captured through innovation, quality and competitiveness.

COMMENTARY ON CARE, RESPONSIBILITY FOR REFUGEES

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 22 Feb 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Afghan Refugees"]

[Text] According to the latest figures made available by the Afghan Refugee Commissioner, Mr Rustam Shah Mahmand, the total number of registered Afghan refugees has risen to 2.7 million who are encamped in 280 camps in different parts of NWFP and the adjoining tribal areas. He disclosed that Afghan refugee caravans continue to enter Pakistani territory through different clandestine routes, and that on an average about 2,000 people arrived monthly. He pointed out that the figure of monthly influx varied from time to time in keeping with the level of fighting in Afghanistan. For instance, more than 30,000 Afghan refugees entered Kurram and North Waziristan in August and September when heavy fighting took place in the Khost area of Afghanistan. The Refugee Commissioner also gave details of the humanitarian measures taken by the Government to succour the Afghan men, women and children who have taken shelter in Pakistan.

Although the number of registered refugees is a little over 2.7 million, the total number of refugees exceeds three million. Many refugees have not got themselves registered because either they are staying with their relatives in and around Peshawar or pursuing an independent existence. But although not formally registered, they in any case derive their sustenance from local resources and thus are a factor in any final accounting of the refugee situation. Playing host to such a huge refugee population on purely humanitarian grounds, Pakistan has had to strain its limited resources to adequately care for them. The daily expenditure on the refugees comes to over a million dollars only 50 percent of which comes from international agencies and friendly countries. Pakistan has had to put together a big organisational set-up to properly look after the shelter, food and medical needs of the Afghan refugees. The refugees are not only provided wheat, sugar, rice, milk and pulses but also non-food items like tents, quilts, blankets, kerosene oil, etc. The refugees also receive a monthly allowance of Rs. 50 per individual. The Government has established about 450 primary schools for boys and girls and set up 120 basic health units to serve the various camps. Plans are now in hand to build a 200-bed hospital and a 200-bed paediatric hospital in Peshawar for the refugees. To meet the multifarious needs of three million refugees--the biggest concentration of refugee population anywhere in the world--has not been

an easy job. In discharging its onerous responsibility, Pakistan has no doubt received valuable help from world agencies, which has greatly facilitated its task. However, with the tripartite negotiations on a political settlement still to reach a definite stage, it seems Pakistan will have to continue to look after the refugees for quite some time. This not only stresses the need for continued cooperation between the Pakistan Government and the world humanitarian aid agencies but also for an increase in assistance both in kind and cash to strengthen this country's ability to look after the hapless Afghan people on its soil.

CSO: 4600/416

ZIA SAYS BAN ON STUDENT UNIONS TO CONTINUE

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 26 Feb 84 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, Feb. 25: President Gen Mohammad Zia-ul Haq said here today that while the ban on the student unions will continue, the Government will take a lenient view of those students who were arrested, convicted or rusticated.

Addressing a Press conference on his return from Brunei here this afternoon, the President said there were no second thought about the decision to ban student unions in the country. The decision had been taken after thorough and careful consideration and was final, he said.

Explaining the reasons for the action, the President said it was necessary that student's involvement in politics should end, which, he said, was dangerous for the country and the nation.

He said while there was strong possibility of one election being held by the end of this year, the student unions had to be banned because they in fact become auxiliaries of various political parties.

Apart from this, the President said the colleges and universities had become armouries where murders took place. The teachers' integrity was at stake and sometimes teachers themselves were involved in such incidents.

The President said the most affected student organisation was Islami Jamiat-e-Tulaba, which maintained that it had no concern with Jamaat-e-Islami.

He said the student reaction to the ban was natural but called upon them to try the alternate system of councils given by the Government. He said changes in the system could be considered afterward on the basis of experience.

President Zia said students were allowed to continue their constructive and positive activities. He hoped that the students who were the leaders of tomorrow, would not indulge in a hooliganism and would involve themselves in activities which strengthened the nation. The President said there was no place for vandalism in Pakistan.

The President said there had been no torturing of students under his Government. How could his Government, which had demonstrated tolerance even to its political opponents like MRD people, could torture the students, he asked.

He said he had asked the Governors to see to it that the students were not subjected to any excesses. He said no student has been tortured but even if there had been slightest excesses in this regard strictest action would be taken against those found responsible for it. He, however, repeated that he was unaware of any such incident.

He said arrested students will be gradually released under some formula, like that followed in case of MRD people who had courted arrest.--APP

CSO: 4600/416

BRIEFS

ASSEMBLY NOMINEES NUMBER UNDECIDED--Islamabad, Feb 25 President Gen Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq said here today that the Government has not taken any decision to have 20 percent of nominated members in the National Assembly. Replying to a question at a Press conference here today, the President said at the moment he had no such specific plan and if the MRD was fearful of this there was no justification in it. However, he said, there was nothing wrong in such proposal and posed a question: "Is not the House of Lords in the United Kingdom a nominated one?" Britain, he said, was the most democratic country but its House of Lords was a nominated House. He said there was nothing wrong in the proposal to have scholars, technocrats, and other specialists as nominated members of the National Assembly. However, he said, let the time come as we have not taken such decision. Asked if the nominated members will have right of vote the President replied in affirmative saying once they are members of the House they can also vote. But he emphasised again that no such decision has been taken as yet. The President said that the Government has not yet taken any decision if the elections will be held on party or nonparty basis. Asked to comment on the statement of the Chairman of the Majlis-i-Shoora Khawaji Mohammad Safdar that the polls will be held on non-party basis he asked the newsman to direct his question to Khawaja Sahib. Although he said the Government has not yet taken any decision but personally, he will support Khawaja Sahib--PPI. [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 26 Feb 84 pp 1, 10]

AWARD FOR MAQBOOL BUTT--Islamabad, Feb. 21: The Human Rights Society of Pakistan has announced a special Human Rights Award for Mr Maqbool Butt, in recognition of his sacrifice for the cause of freedom. The central President of the Society, Mian Fayyaz Rabbani, while paying tributes to the martyr said Maqbool Butt had added a golden chapter in the international history of human rights by offering his life for the restoration of human rights. According to him, a gold medal will be given to his heirs at an international and graceful ceremony to be held in Karachi shortly.--PPI. [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 22 Feb 84 p 7]

159 INDIAN PRISONERS REPATRIATED--New Delhi, Feb 26: Pakistan has repatriated a total of 159 Indian prisoners since January this year. Indian Minister of State told Rajya Sabha yesterday that 107 prisoners were repatriated on Jan 12 and 52 on Feb one. These Indians were arrested by the Pakistan authorities for illegal entry into that country. Pakistan Government has been approached to secure the release of other Indian prisoners who had completed their sentences, he said.--APP. [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 27 Feb 84 p 1]

TERRORIST GANG WAR RAGES ON

Colombo SUN in English 16 Mar 84 pp 1-2

[Text] The gang wars among groups of militant youths in the north and the east are escalating with more killings being reported from the Northern Province, where the toll up to Wednesday was 13 dead--all shot by opposing groups.

An armed gang fleeing from the scene of the latest killing at Mullaitivu were confronted by an Army patrol on Wednesday night. In a shoot-out, the Army patrol shot dead one suspect.

The others got away on hijacked motorcycles, Police said.

Meanwhile, in Vavuniya, about the same time, an off-duty policeman who was walking along the Vavuniya main street dressed in civils was shot at by an unidentified man, who had disappeared into the hinterland after the shooting. The constable was slightly injured and is receiving treatment at the Vavuniya hospital.

Investigators believe that this could have been a case of mistaken identity.

The injured policeman had not been involved in any anti-terrorist investigations, they said.

Investigations into the summary executions have been complicated by the last three killings which indicate that groups other than the Tamil Eelam Liberation Army (TELA) are involved, SUN learned. Latest indications are that Vellupillai Prbhakaran, the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the original terrorist group had ordered the elimination of the last three youths who were killed by execution squads.

There is a possibility that "Panagoda" Maheswaran, the self-styled leader of TELA, was really Prabakaran's second-in-command, police said.

"He could have taken over the local operations after the death of Seelan, who was shot dead by the security forces at Mallakam last year," they said.

Maheswaran, who earned his nickname after he broke out from the high security detention block of the Panagoda army cantonment, was later re-arrested and then escaped from the Batticaloa prison with 34 other wanted men in October last year.

The Batticaloa prison break is believed to have been engineered by the LTTE, Prabhakaran's group, who wanted to take out a number of their members.

Investigators believe that Maheswaran might have made his contact with the Prabhakaran group at the Batticaloa prison. Before that, he was only one associate of the leadership of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) including Kuttimani and Jegan.

Maheswaran was arrested for his part in an abortive bank robbery in the eastern province, which, he later confessed, he participated in as he wanted some money to return to London, where he was a final year engineering student at the London Polytechnic. He returned to Sri Lanka to attend his father's funeral in late 1980.

After the death of Seelan, it is believed that Prabhakaran wanted Maheswaran to return to Sri Lanka and start operating as his lieutenant under cover of a new organization, police sources told SUN. They describe the formation of a new organization as an attempt to mislead both the security forces and the public who were showing signs of displeasure with the Prabhakaran group.

CSO: 4600/452

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